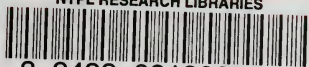


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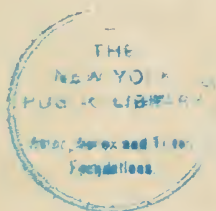






HISTORY  
OF THE  
C O L O N I Z A T I O N  
OF THE  
UNITED STATES.







- FRENCH
- ENGLISH
- DUTCH
- SWEDISH
- SPANISH

MAP OF  
FRENCH, ENGLISH, DUTCH,  
SWEDISH and SPANISH  
Possessions or claims  
in the UNITED STATES, in  
1655.



HISTORY  
OF THE  
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OF THE  
UNITED STATES.

BY  
GEORGE BANCROFT.

ABRIDGED BY THE AUTHOR.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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THE present Abridgment, made at our request, is not designed as a full abstract of the larger work from which it is taken. Much has been omitted altogether. The object, kept steadily in view, has been to give an authentic account of the colonization of the United States, in a simple and continued narrative, adapted to the young. It is hoped the volume may in private engage attention, and at school may serve usefully as a class-book for reading, or as a manual for instruction in the early history of the country.

C. C. LITTLE,  
JAMES BROWN.

BOSTON, *March*, 1841.



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# COLONIAL HISTORY

## OF THE

# UNITED STATES.

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### CHAPTER I.

#### EARLY VOYAGES. FRENCH SETTLEMENTS.

THE United States of America constitute an essential portion of a great political system, embracing all the cultivated nations of the earth. At a period when the force of moral opinion is rapidly increasing, they have the precedence in the practice and the defence of the equal rights of man. Prosperity follows the execution of even justice; invention is quickened by the freedom of competition, and labor rewarded with unexampled returns. Our ships float on every sea, unite all the races of humanity, and traffic with every continent; the patriarchs of oldest time seem to beckon the commerce of the youngest daughter of civilization towards the cradle of our race. Our diplomatic relations connect us, on terms of equality and honest friendship, with the chief powers of the world; while we avoid entangling participation in their intrigues, their passions, and their wars. Our national resources are developed by an earnest culture of the arts of peace. Mind is free in its activity and its utterance; folly and error are safely tolerated, where reason is left free to combat them. Nor are the constitutions of government compacts unal-



terably fixed; they have the capacity for improvement, adopting whatever changes time and the public will may require. New states are forming in the wilderness; canals intersect our plains and cross our highlands; manufactures prosper along our watercourses; the use of steam on our rivers and railroads annihilates distance by the acceleration of speed. Our population, already giving us a place in the first rank of nations, is doubled in every period of twenty-two or twenty-three years. There is no national debt. Religion, neither persecuted nor paid by the state, is sustained by the regard for public morals and the convictions of an enlightened faith. Intelligence is diffused with unparalleled universality; a free press teems with the choicest productions of all nations and ages. Emigrants, of the most various lineage, crowd to our shores; and the principles of liberty, uniting all interests by the operation of equal laws, blend the discordant elements into harmonious union.

And yet it is but little more than two centuries since the oldest of our states received its first permanent colony. Before that time, the whole territory was an unproductive waste. Throughout its wide extent, the arts had not erected a monument. Its only inhabitants were a few scattered tribes of feeble barbarians, destitute of commerce and of political connection. The axe and the ploughshare were unknown. The soil, which had been gathering fertility from the repose of centuries, was lavishing its strength in magnificent but useless vegetation. In the view of civilization, the immense domain was a solitude.

It is the object of the present work to explain the origin of our country, and to follow the steps by which a favoring Providence called our institutions into being.

The enterprise of Columbus, the most memorable maritime enterprise in the history of the world, formed between Europe and America the communication which will never cease. The national pride of an Icelandic historian has indeed claimed for his ancestors the glory of having discovered the western hemisphere; and



Danish antiquaries believe that Northmen entered the waters of Rhode Island, and gave the name of Vinland to the south-east coasts of New England. The nation of intrepid mariners, whose voyages extended beyond Iceland and beyond Sicily, could easily have sailed from Greenland to Labrador. No clear, historic evidence makes it certain that they accomplished the passage, — far less that they reached the territory of the United States. Imagination had conceived the idea that vast, inhabited regions lay unexplored in the west; and poets had declared that empires beyond the ocean would one day be revealed to the daring navigator. But Columbus deserves the undivided glory of having realized that belief.

Columbus was a native of Genoa. The commerce of the middle ages, conducted chiefly upon the Mediterranean Sea, had enriched the Italian republics, and had been chiefly engrossed by their citizens. The path for enterprise now lay across the ocean. The states which bordered upon the Atlantic — Spain, Portugal, and England — became competitors for the New World and its traffic; but the nation which, by long and successful experience, had become deservedly celebrated for its skill in navigation, continued for a season to furnish the most able maritime commanders. Italians had the glory of making the discoveries, from which Italy derived neither wealth nor power.

In the new career of western adventure, the American continent was first discovered under the auspices of the English, and the coast of the United States by a native of England. The magnificent achievement of Columbus, revealing the wonderful truth, of which the germs may have existed in the imagination of every thoughtful mariner, won the admiration which was due to an enterprise that seemed more divine than human, and kindled in the breasts of the emulous a vehement desire to gain as signal renown in the same career of daring; while the politic king of England desired to share in the large returns which were promised by maritime adventure.

It was, therefore, not difficult for John Cabot, a Venetian merchant, residing at Bristol, to engage Henry VII. in plans for discovery. Under a patent obtained from that monarch, and containing the worst features of colonial monopoly and commercial restriction, John Cabot, and his celebrated son Sebastian, embarked, in 1497, for the west. Of what tempests they encountered, what mutinies they calmed, no record has been preserved. The discovery of the American continent, on the twenty-fourth day of June, probably in the latitude of fifty-six degrees, — far, therefore, to the north of the Straits of Belle Isle, among the polar bears, the rude savages, and the dismal cliffs of Labrador, — was the fruit of the voyage. The navigators hastened homewards to announce their success. Thus the discovery of our continent was an exploit of private, mercantile adventure; and the possession of the new-found “land and isles” was a right vested, by an exclusive patent, in the family of a Bristol merchant. Yet the Cabots derived little benefit from the expedition, which their genius had suggested, and of which they alone had defrayed the expense. Posterity hardly remembered that they had reached the American continent nearly fourteen months before Columbus, on his third voyage, came in sight of the main land, and almost two years before Amerigo Vespucci sailed west of the Canaries. But England acquired, through their energy, such a right to North America as this indisputable priority could confer.

Confidence and zeal awakened; and Henry grew circumspect in the concession of rights, which now seemed about to become of immense value. In February, 1498, a new patent was issued to John Cabot, less ample in the privileges which it conferred; and his son Sebastian — a native of Bristol, a youthful adventurer of great benevolence and courtesy, daring in conception, and patient in execution — pursued the paths of discovery which he, with his father, had opened. The object of the new expedition was, in part, to explore “what manner of landes those Indies were to inhabit;”

and perhaps, also, a hope was entertained of reaching the rich empire of Cathay. Embarking in May, Sebastian Cabot, with a company of three hundred men, sailed for Labrador, by way of Iceland, and reached the continent in the latitude of fifty-eight degrees. The severity of the cold, the strangeness of the unknown land, and his declared purpose of exploring the country, induced him to turn to the south; and, having proceeded along the shores of the United States to the southern boundary of Maryland, or perhaps to the latitude of Albemarle Sound, want of provisions hastened his return to England.

The maps which he sketched of his discoveries, as well as the accounts which he wrote of his adventures, have perished; and the history of the next years of his life is involved in obscurity. Yet it does not admit of a reasonable doubt that, perhaps in 1517, sailing once more from England to discover the North-Western passage, Sebastian Cabot passed through the straits, and entered the bay, which, after the lapse of nearly a century, took their name from Hudson. He himself wrote a "Discourse of Navigation," in which the entrance of the strait was laid down, with great precision, "on a card drawn by his own hand." He boldly prosecuted his design, making his way through regions into which it was long afterwards esteemed an act of the most intrepid adventure to penetrate, till, on June the eleventh, as we are informed from a letter written by the navigator himself, he had attained the altitude of sixty-seven and a half degrees, ever in the hope of finding a passage into the Indian Ocean. The sea was still open; but the cowardice of a naval officer, and the mutiny of the mariners, compelled him to return, though his own confidence in the possibility of effecting the passage remained unimpaired.

The career of Sebastian Cabot was in the issue as honorable as its opening had been glorious. He conciliated universal regard by the benevolent mildness of his character. For nearly sixty years he guided maritime adventure; was revered for his achievements and

skill; and, at last, was pensioned and rewarded for his merits as the Great Seaman. It was he who framed the instructions for the expedition which discovered the passage to Archangel. He lived to an extreme old age, and so loved his profession to the last, that, in the hour of death, his wandering thoughts were upon the ocean. The discoverer of the territory of our country was one of the most extraordinary men of his age: there is deep cause for regret, that time has spared so few memorials of his career. He gave England a continent, and no one knows his burial-place.

Upon the certainty of success, a throng of adventurers eagerly engaged in voyages to explore the New World, or to plunder its inhabitants. The king of Portugal, grieved at having neglected Columbus, readily favored an expedition for northern discovery. Gaspar Cortereal was appointed commander of the enterprise. In 1501, he reached the shores of North America; ranged the coast for a distance of six or seven hundred miles, probably as far north as the fiftieth degree; and carefully observed the country and its inhabitants. The pines, well adapted for masts and yards, promised to become an object of gainful commerce. But men were already with the Portuguese an established article of traffic; and Cortereal freighted his ships with more than fifty Indians, whom, on his return, he sold as slaves. It was soon resolved to renew the expedition; but the adventurer never returned. The name of Labrador, transferred to a more northern coast, is a memorial of his crime, and the only permanent trace of Portuguese adventure within the limits of North America.

The French entered without delay into the competition for the commerce and the soil of America. Within seven years of the discovery of the continent, the fisheries of Newfoundland were known to the hardy mariners of Brittany and Normandy. The island of Cape Breton acquired its name from their remembrance of home; and in France it was usual to esteem them the discoverers of the country.

The fisheries had for some years been successfully pursued ; savages from the north-eastern coast had been brought to France ; plans of colonization in North America had been suggested by De Lery and St. Just ; when, at length, in 1524, Francis I., a monarch who had invited Da Vinci and Cellini to transplant the fine arts into his kingdom, despatched John Verrazzani, another Florentine, with a single caravel, to make discovery of new countries. Fifty days elapsed before the continent, in the latitude of Wilmington, appeared in view ; and Verrazzani, vainly searching for a convenient harbor, cast anchor on the coast of North Carolina. The russet color of the Indians seemed like the complexion of the Saracens ; their dress was of skins ; their ornaments, garlands of feathers. They welcomed with hospitality the strangers, whom they had not yet learned to fear. As the Dolphin ploughed its way to the north, it was thought that imagination could not conceive of more delightful fields and forests ; the groves, redolent with fragrance, gave promise of the spices of the East ; and the color of the earth argued an abundance of gold.

The harbor of New York especially attracted notice, for its great convenience and pleasantness. In the spacious haven of Newport Verrazzani remained for fifteen days. The natives were "the goodliest people" that he had found in the whole voyage—liberal and friendly, yet too ignorant even to covet instruments of steel and iron. Leaving the waters of Rhode Island, the persevering mariner sailed along the coast till, on the fifth of May, he approached the latitude of fifty degrees. The natives of the more northern region had learned the use of iron, and were willing to traffic for knives and weapons of steel. In July, Verrazzani was once more in France. His own narrative of the voyage is the earliest original account, now extant, of the coast of the United States. He advanced the knowledge of the country ; and he gave to France some claim to an extensive territory, on the pretext of discovery.



The historians of maritime adventure agree that Verrazzani again embarked upon an expedition. One writer asserts that he was thrice on the coast of America, and that he gave a map of it to the English monarch. It is the common tradition, that he perished at sea, having been engaged in an expedition of which no tidings were ever heard. It is probable that Verrazzani had only retired from the fatigues of the life of a mariner, and, while others believed him buried in the ocean, was enjoying the delights of tranquil employment. Yet such is the obscurity of the accounts respecting his life, that certainty cannot be established.

The subsequent misfortunes of the French monarchy did not affect the industry of its fishermen. There exists a letter to Henry VIII., from the haven of St. John, in Newfoundland, written in 1527, by an English captain, in which he declares, he found in that one harbor eleven sail of Normans and one Breton, engaged in the fishery. The French king himself became interested in the design of exploring and colonizing the New World; and James Cartier, descended from the enterprising Normans who first occupied the rock of St. Malo, was selected to lead the expedition. His several voyages are of great moment; for they had a permanent effect in guiding the attention of France to the region of the St. Lawrence. It was on the twentieth of April, 1534, that the mariner, with two ships, left his home; and prosperous weather brought him in twenty days upon the coasts of Newfoundland. Having almost circumnavigated the island, he turned to the south, and, crossing the gulf, entered the bay, which he called Des Chaleurs, from the intense heats of midsummer. Finding no passage to the west, he sailed along the coast as far as the smaller inlet of Gaspé; where a lofty cross was raised, bearing a shield, with the lilies of France and an appropriate inscription. Leaving the Bay of Gaspé, Cartier, the first to conduct Northmen into the great river of Canada, sailed, in August, up its channel, till he could discern land on either side. Unprepared to remain during the winter, the little fleet

weighed anchor for Europe, and, in less than thirty days, entered the harbor of St. Malo in security.

The court listened to the urgency of the friends of Cartier; and a second squadron, provided by the king, and attended by some of the young nobility of France as volunteers, sailed, in May, 1535, for the New World, full of hopes of discoveries and plans of colonization in the territory which now began to be known as New France.

After a stormy voyage, the adventurers arrived within sight of Newfoundland. Passing to the west of that island on the day of St. Lawrence, they gave the name of that martyr to a portion of the noble gulf which opened before them—a name which has gradually extended to the whole gulf, and to the river. Sailing to the north of Anticosti, they ascended the stream in September, as far as a pleasant harbor in the isle since called Orleans. The natives, Indians of Algonquin descent, received them with unsuspecting hospitality. Leaving his ships safely moored, Cartier, in a boat, sailed up the majestic stream to the chief Indian settlement on the island of Hochelaga. The language of its inhabitants proves them to have been of the Huron family of tribes. The town lay at the foot of a hill, which he climbed. As he reached the summit, he was moved to admiration by the prospect before him of woods, and waters, and mountains. Filled with bright anticipations, he called the hill Mont-Real; and time, that has transferred the name to the island, is realizing his visions of its prosperity. Cartier also gathered of the Indians some indistinct account of the countries now contained in the north of Vermont and New York. Rejoining his ships, the winter, rendered frightful by the ravages of the scurvy, was passed where they were anchored. At the approach of spring, a cross was erected, bearing the arms of France, and an inscription, that Francis was king of these new-found regions. Having thus claimed the territory, the Breton mariner once more sailed for St. Malo.

The description which Cartier gave of the country bordering on the St. Lawrence, furnished arguments against attempting a colony. The intense severity of the climate terrified even the inhabitants of the north of France; and no mines of silver and gold, no veins abounding in diamonds and precious stones, had been promised by the faithful narrative of the voyage. Three or four years, therefore, elapsed before plans of colonization were renewed; when, in January, 1540, a nobleman of Picardy, Francis de la Roque, lord of Roberval, sought and obtained a grant of regal authority over the territories and islands which lie near the Gulf or along the River St. Lawrence. Cartier also, as captain-general and chief pilot of the expedition, was directed to take with him persons of every trade and art; to ransack the prisons, to rescue the unfortunate and the criminal, and to make up the complement of his men from their number. With these he was to repair to the newly-discovered country, and dwell there with the natives.

The division of authority between Cartier and Roberval of itself defeated the enterprise. Roberval was ambitious of power; and Cartier desired the exclusive honor of discovery. They neither embarked in company, nor acted in concert. Cartier sailed from St. Malo in May, 1541, the next spring after the date of his commission; he arrived at the scene of his former adventures, ascended the St. Lawrence, and, near the site of Quebec, built a fort for the security of his party; but no considerable advances in geographical knowledge appear to have been made. The winter passed in sullenness and gloom. In June of the following year, he and his ships stole away and returned to France, just as Roberval arrived with a considerable reënforcement. Unsustained by Cartier, Roberval accomplished no more than a verification of previous discoveries. Remaining about a year in America, he abandoned his immense viceroyalty. Perhaps the expedition, on its return, entered the Bay of Massachusetts; the



French diplomatists always remembered that Boston was built within the original limits of New France.

The commission of Roberval was followed by no permanent results. It is confidently said, that, in 1549, he again embarked for his viceroyalty, accompanied by a numerous train of adventurers; and, as he was never more heard of, he may have perished at sea.

Can it be a matter of surprise, that, for the next fifty years, no further discoveries were attempted by the government of a nation which had become involved in the final struggle of feudalism against the central power of the monarch, of Calvinism against the ancient religion of France?

At length, under the mild and tolerant reign of Henry IV., the star of France emerged from the clouds of blood, treachery, and civil war, which had so long eclipsed her glory. The number and importance of the fishing stages had increased: in 1578, there were one hundred and fifty French vessels at Newfoundland; and regular voyages, for traffic with the natives, began to be successfully made. One French mariner, before 1609, had made more than forty voyages to the American coast. The purpose of founding a French empire in America was renewed; and, in 1598, an ample commission was issued to the marquis de la Roche, a nobleman of Brittany. Yet his enterprise entirely failed. Sweeping the prisons of France, he established their tenants on the desolate Isle of Sable; and the wretched exiles sighed for their dungeons.

The prospect of gain prompted the next enterprise. A monopoly of the fur trade, with an ample patent, was obtained, in 1600, by Chauvin; and Pontgravé, a merchant of St. Malo, shared the traffic. The voyage was repeated, for it was lucrative. The death of Chauvin prevented his settling a colony.

A firmer hope of success was entertained, when a company of merchants of Rouen was formed by the governor of Dieppe; and Samuel Champlain, of Brouage, an able marine officer, and a man of science,

was appointed to direct the expedition. By his natural disposition, "delighting marvellously in these enterprises," Champlain became the father of the French settlements in Canada. He possessed a clear and penetrating understanding, with a spirit of cautious inquiry; untiring perseverance, with great mobility; indefatigable activity, with fearless courage. The account of his first expedition gives proof of sound judgment, accurate observation, and historical fidelity. It is full of exact details on the manners of the savage tribes, not less than the geography of the country; and Quebec was already, in 1603, selected as the appropriate site for a fort.

Champlain returned to France just before an exclusive patent had been issued to a Calvinist—the able, patriotic, and honest De Monts. The sovereignty of Acadia and its confines, from the fortieth to the forty-sixth degree of latitude, that is, from Philadelphia to beyond Montreal; a still wider monopoly of the fur trade; the exclusive control of the soil, government, and trade; freedom of religion for Huguenot emigrants;—these were the privileges which the charter conceded.

All New France was now contained in two ships, which, in March, 1604, followed the well-known path to Nova Scotia. The summer glided away, while the emigrants trafficked with the natives, and explored the coasts. The excellent harbor now called Annapolis so pleased the imagination of Poutrincourt, a leader in the enterprise, that he sued for a grant of it from De Monts, and, naming it Port Royal, determined to reside there with his family. The company of De Monts made their first attempt at a settlement on the island of St. Croix, at the mouth of the river of the same name. In the following spring, they removed to Port Royal.

For an agricultural colony, a milder climate was more desirable: in view of a settlement at the south, De Monts, in 1605, explored and claimed for France the rivers, the coasts, and the bays of New England, as far, at least, as Cape Cod. The numbers and hostility of the savages led him to delay a removal, since his colonists

were so few. Yet the purpose remained. Thrice, in the spring of 1606, did Dupont, his lieutenant, attempt to complete the discovery. Twice he was driven back by adverse winds; and at the third attempt, his vessel was wrecked. Poutrincourt, who had visited France for supplies, himself renewed the design; but, meeting with disasters among the shoals of Cape Cod, he, too, returned to Port Royal. There the first French settlement on the American continent had been made; two years before James River was discovered, and three years before a cabin was raised in Canada.

The arrival of Jesuit priests, in June, 1611, was signalized by conversions among the natives. In the following year, De Biencourt and Father Biart explored the coast as far as the Kennebec, and ascended that river. The Canibas, Algonquins of the Abenaki nations, touched by the confiding humanity of the French, listened reverently to the message of redemption; and, already hostile towards the English who had visited their coast, the tribes between the Penobscot and the Kennebec became the allies of France, and were cherished as a barrier against English encroachments.

A French colony within the United States followed. In 1613, under the auspices of De Guercheville and Mary of Medici, the rude entrenchments of St. Sauveur were raised by De Saussaye on Mount Desert Isle, to guard the approach to the Penobscot. The natives venerated Biart as a messenger from Heaven; and, under the summer sky, round a cross in the centre of the hamlet, matins and vespers were regularly chanted. France and the Roman religion had appropriated the soil of Maine.

Meantime the remonstrances of French merchants had effected the revocation of the monopoly of De Monts, and, in July, 1608, Champlain, acting for a company of merchants of Dieppe and St. Malo, had founded Quebec; that is to say, rude cottages were framed, a few fields were cleared, and one or two gardens planted. The next year, attended but by two Europeans,

he joined a mixed party of Hurons from Montreal, and Algonquins from Quebec, in an expedition against the Iroquois, or Five Nations, in the north of New York; ascended the Sorel, and explored the lake which bears his name and perpetuates his memory.

When, in 1615, merchants of St. Malo, Rouen, and La Rochelle, obtained a colonial patent from the king, Champlain, now sure of success, embarked once more for the New World, accompanied by monks of the order of St. Francis. Again he invades the territory of the Iroquois in New York. Wounded, and repulsed, and destitute of guides, he spends the first winter after his return to America in the country of the Hurons, and, a knight errant among the forests, carries his language, religion, and influence, even to the villages of Algonquins, near Lake Nipissing.

In the summer of 1620, the persevering founder of an empire began a fort. The merchants grudged the expense. "It is not best to yield to the passions of men," was his reply; "they sway but for a season; it is a duty to respect the future;" and, in a few years, the castle St. Louis, so long the place of council against the Iroquois and against New England, was durably founded on "a commanding cliff." The colony was also strengthened by a religious influence; and, in 1625, just a year after Jesuits had reached the sources of the Ganges and Thibet, the banks of the St. Lawrence received priests of the order which was destined to carry the cross to Lake Superior and the south-west.

Disasters, capitulations, and captivity intervened; but Champlain successfully established the authority of the French on the banks of the St. Lawrence, in the territory which became his country. "The father of New France" lies buried in the land which he colonized. Thus the humble industry of the fishermen of Normandy and Brittany promised their country the acquisition of an empire.

## CHAPTER II.

## EXPEDITION OF FERDINAND DE SOTO.

Not satisfied with possessing Acadia and Canada, France laid claim to large and undefined regions at the southern extremity of our republic. But the discoveries of Verrazzani had been anticipated.

Extraordinary success had kindled in the Spanish nation an equally extraordinary enthusiasm. No sooner had the New World revealed itself to their enterprise, than the valiant men, who had won laurels under Ferdinand among the mountains of Andalusia, sought a new career of glory in more remote adventures. The weapons that had been tried in the battles with the Moors, and the military skill that had been acquired in the romantic conquest of Granada, were now turned against the feeble occupants of America. The passions of avarice and religious zeal were strangely blended; and the heroes of Spain sailed to the west, as if they had been bound on a new crusade, where infinite wealth was to reward their piety. The Spanish nation had become infatuated with a fondness for novelties; the "chivalry of the ocean" despised the range of Europe, as offering to their extravagant ambition nothing beyond mediocrity. America was the region of romance, where the heated imagination could indulge in the boldest delusions; where the simple natives ignorantly wore the most precious ornaments; and, by the side of the clear runs of water, the sands sparkled with gold. What way soever, says the historian of the ocean, the Spaniards are called, with a beck only, or a whispering voice, to any thing rising above water, they speedily prepare themselves to fly, and forsake certainties under the hope of more brilliant success. To carve out provinces with the sword; to divide the wealth of empires; to plunder the accumulated treasures of some ancient Indian dynas-



ty; to return from a roving expedition with a crowd of enslaved captives and a profusion of spoils, — soon became the ordinary dreams in which the excited minds of the Spaniards delighted to revel.

Juan Ponce de Leon was the discoverer of Florida. His youth had been passed in military service in Spain; and, during the wars in Granada, he had shared in the wild exploits of predatory valor. No sooner had the return from the first voyage across the Atlantic given an assurance of a New World, than he hastened to participate in the dangers and the spoils of adventure in America. He was a fellow-voyager of Columbus in his second expedition. In the wars of Hispaniola, he had been a gallant soldier, and had been rewarded with the government, first of the eastern province of that island, and afterwards of Porto Rico. Displaced from his station, he longed to retrieve his fortunes by the conquest of a kingdom. Besides, the veteran soldier, whose cheeks had been furrowed by hard service, as well as by years, had heard, and had believed the tale, of a fountain which possessed virtues to renovate the life of those who bathed in its stream or drank of its ever-flowing waters. Nature was to discover the secrets for which alchemy had toiled in vain; and the elixir of life was to flow from a perpetual fountain of the New World, in the midst of a country glittering with gems and gold.

Ponce embarked at Porto Rico, in March, 1512, with a squadron of three ships, fitted out at his own expense, for his voyage to fairy land. He touched at Guanahani; he sailed among the Bahamas; but the laws of nature remained inexorable. On Easter Sunday, land was seen, which, from the day on which it was discovered, and from the aspect of the forests, brilliant with profuse blossoms and fresh verdure, received the name of Florida. Bad weather would not allow the squadron to approach land: at length the aged soldier was able to go on shore, in the latitude of thirty degrees and eight minutes; some miles, therefore, to the north

of St. Augustine. The territory was claimed for Spain. Ponce remained for many weeks, to investigate the coast which he had discovered; though the currents of the Gulf Stream, and the islands, between which the channel was yet unknown, threatened shipwreck. He doubled Cape Florida; he sailed among the group which he named Tortugas; and, despairing of entire success, he returned to Porto Rico, leaving a trusty follower to continue the research. Thus did Spanish commerce acquire a new channel through the Gulf of Florida, and Spain a new province, which imagination could esteem immeasurably rich, since its interior was unknown.

The government of Florida was the reward which Ponce received from the king of Spain; but the dignity was accompanied with the onerous condition, that he should colonize the country which he was appointed to rule. Preparations in Spain, and an expedition against the Caribbee Indians, delayed his return to Florida. When, after a long interval, in 1521, he proceeded with two ships to take possession of his province and select a site for a colony, his company was attacked by the Indians with implacable fury. Many Spaniards were killed; the survivors were forced to hurry to their ships; Ponce de Leon himself, mortally wounded by an arrow, returned to Cuba to die. So ended the adventurer, who had coveted immeasurable wealth, and had hoped for perpetual youth. The discoverer of Florida had desired immortality on earth, and gained its shadow.

Meantime, commerce may have discovered a path to Florida. In 1516, Diego Miruelo, a careless sea-captain, sailing from Havana, is said to have approached the coast, and trafficked with the natives, though he could not tell distinctly in what harbor he had anchored; and, two years afterwards, while Grijalva was opening the way to the conquest of Mexico, the line of the American coast, from the Tortugas to Panuco, is said to have been examined, yet not with care, by an expedition which was planned, if not conducted, by Francisco Garay, the governor of Jamaica.

A voyage for slaves, in 1520, brought the Spaniards still farther upon the northern coast. A company of seven, of whom the most distinguished was Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon, fitted out two slave ships from St. Domingo, in quest of laborers for their plantations and mines. From the Bahama Islands, they passed to the coast of South Carolina, a country which was called Chicora. The Combahee River received the name of the Jordan; the name of St. Helena, given to a cape, now belongs to the sound. The natives of this region had not yet had cause to fear Europeans; their natural fastnesses had not yet been invaded; and, if they fled at the approach of men from the slave ships, it was rather from timid wonder than from a sense of peril. Gifts were interchanged; a liberal hospitality was offered to the strangers; confidence was established. At length the natives were invited to visit the ships; they came in cheerful throngs; the decks were covered. Immediately the ships weighed anchor; the sails were unfurled, and the prows turned towards St. Domingo. Husbands were torn from their wives, and children from their parents. The crime was unprofitable. One of the returning ships foundered at sea, and the guilty and guiltless perished; many of the captives in the other sickened and died.

Repairing to Spain, Vasquez boasted of his expedition, as if it entitled him to reward, and the emperor, Charles V., acknowledged his claim. In those days, countries were distributed to be subdued; and Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon begged to be appointed to the conquest of Chicora. After long entreaty, he obtained his suit; but it was only to waste his fortune in preparations. His largest ship was, in 1525, stranded in the River Jordan; many of his men were killed by the natives, whom wrongs had quickened to active resistance; he himself, conscious of having done nothing worthy of being remembered, escaped, only to suffer from wounded pride; and the sense of humiliation is said to have hastened his death.



The love of adventure did not wholly extinguish the desire for maritime discovery. In 1525, a voyage to the north-west was undertaken by Stephen Gomez, an experienced naval officer, who had been with Magellan in the first memorable passage into the Pacific Ocean. His ship entered the bays of New York and New England: on old Spanish maps, that portion of our territory is marked as the Land of Gomez. Failing to discover a passage, and fearful to return without success, and without a freight, he filled his vessel with robust Indians, to be sold as slaves. Brilliant expectations had been raised; and the conclusion was esteemed despicably ludicrous. The Spaniards scorned to repeat their voyages to the cold and frozen north; in the south, and in the south only, they looked for "great and exceeding riches."

But neither the fondness of the Spanish monarch for extensive domains, nor the desire of the nobility for new governments, nor the passion of adventurers for undiscovered wealth, would permit the abandonment of the conquest of Florida. Permission to invade that territory was next sought for by Pamphilo de Narvaez, a man of no great virtue or reputation; and the country, as far west as the River of Palms, was placed at his mercy.

His expedition, which took place in 1528, is memorable for its disasters. Of three hundred men, of whom eighty were mounted, but four or five returned. The valor of the natives; thirst, famine, and pestilence; the want of concert between the ships and the men set on shore; the errors of judgment in the commanders, rapidly melted away the unsuccessful company. It is not possible to ascertain with exactness the point where Narvaez first landed in Florida; probably it was at a bay a little east of the meridian of Cape St. Anthony, in Cuba; it may have been, therefore, not far from the bay now called Appalachee.

The party soon struck into the interior, following the directions of the natives: these, careful to free themselves from troublesome guests, described the dis-

tant territory as full of gold. The town of Appalachee, which was thought to contain immense accumulations of wealth, proved to be an inconsiderable collection of wigwams. It was probably in the region of the Bay of Pensacola, that the remnant of the party, after a ramble of eight hundred miles, finally came again upon the sea, in a condition of extreme penury. Here they manufactured rude boats, in which none but desperate men would have embarked; and Narvaez and most of his companions, after having passed nearly six months in Florida, perished in a storm near the mouth of the Mississippi. One ship's company was wrecked upon an island; most of those who were saved died of famine; the four who ultimately reached Mexico by land, succeeded only after years of hardships, and rambles extending across Louisiana and the northern part of Mexico to the shores of the Pacific Ocean in Sonora. The knowledge of the bays and rivers of Florida, on the Gulf of Mexico, was not essentially increased; the strange tales of natural prodigies were harmless falsehoods; the wanderers, on their return, persevered in the far more fatal assertion, that Florida was the richest country in the world.

To no one was belief in the assertion more disastrous than to Ferdinand de Soto, the favorite companion of Pizarro in the conquest of Peru. Having assisted in arresting the unhappy Atahualpa, and shared in the immense ransom with which the credulous inca purchased the promise of freedom, he had repaired to Spain, to enjoy his reputation and display his opulence. Desiring to rival Cortes in glory, to surpass Pizarro in wealth, he solicited permission to conquer Florida at his own cost; and Charles V. readily conceded to so renowned a commander the government of the Isle of Cuba, with absolute power over the immense territory to which the name of Florida was still vaguely applied.

No sooner was the design of the new expedition published in Spain, than the wildest hopes were indulged. How brilliant must be the prospect, since even the con-





queror of Peru was willing to hazard his fortune and the greatness of his name! Adventurers assembled as volunteers, many of them people of noble birth and good estates. Houses and vineyards, lands for tillage, and rows of olive-trees, were sold, as in the times of the crusades, to obtain the means of military equipments; even soldiers of Portugal desired to be enrolled for the service. From the numerous aspirants, Soto selected for his companions six hundred men in the bloom of life, the flower of the Peninsula.

The fleet sailed as gayly as if it had been but a holiday excursion of a bridal party. The precaution was used to send vessels to Florida to explore a harbor; and two Indians, brought as captives to Havana, conversed by signs, which were interpreted as affirming that Florida abounded in gold.

After long and brilliant festivals and rejoicings in Cuba, when all preparations were completed, Soto and his company, full of unbounded expectations, embarked for Florida, in May, 1539; and, in about a fortnight, anchored in the Bay of Spiritu Santo. The soldiers went on shore; the horses, between two and three hundred in number, were disembarked; and the men of the expedition stood upon the soil which they had so eagerly desired to tread. Soto would listen to no augury but that of success; and, like Cortes, he refused to retain his ships, lest they should afford a temptation to retreat: most of them were sent to Havana.

And now began the nomadic march of the adventurers—a numerous body of horsemen, besides infantry, completely armed; a force exceeding in numbers and equipments the famous expeditions against the empires of Mexico and Peru. Every thing was provided that experience in former invasions and the cruelty of avarice could suggest;—chains for captives, and the instruments of a forge; arms of all kinds then in use, and bloodhounds, as auxiliaries against the feeble natives; ample stores of food, and, as a last resort, a drove of hogs, which would soon swarm in the favoring climate,

where the forests and the Indian maize furnished abundant sustenance. It was a roving expedition of gallant freebooters in quest of fortune. It was a romantic stroll of men whom avarice rendered ferocious, through unexplored regions, over unknown paths, wherever rumor might point to the residence of some chieftain with more than Peruvian wealth, or the ill-interpreted signs of the ignorant natives promise a harvest of gold. Priests, also, accompanied the expedition: Florida was to become Catholic during scenes of robbery and carnage. As the troop marched through the wilderness, the solemn processions, which the usages of the church enjoined, were scrupulously instituted.

The wanderings of the first season brought the company from the Bay of Spiritu Santo to the country of the Appalachians, east of the Flint River, and not far from the head of the Bay of Appalachee. The names of the intermediate places cannot be identified. The march was tedious and full of dangers. The Indians were always hostile; the two captives of the former expedition escaped; a Spaniard, who had been kept in slavery from the time of Narvaez, could give no accounts of any country where there was silver or gold. The whole company grew dispirited, and desired the governor to return, since the country opened no brilliant prospects. "I will not turn back," said Soto, "till with my own eyes I have seen its poverty." An exploring party discovered Ochus, the harbor of Pensacola; and a message was sent to Cuba, desiring that, in the ensuing year, supplies for the expedition might be sent to that place.

Early in the spring of 1540, the wanderers renewed their march, with an Indian guide, who promised to lead to a country governed, it was said, by a woman, and where gold so abounded, that the art of melting and refining it was understood. The adventurers, therefore, eagerly hastened to the north-east; they passed the Alamaha; they admired the fertile valleys of Georgia, rich, productive, and full of good rivers, and came upon the Ogechee itself, which in April, flowed with a full



channel and a strong current. Much of the time, the Spaniards were in wild solitudes; they suffered for want of salt and of meat. Their Indian guide affected madness; but "they said a gospel over him, and the fit left him." Again he involved them in pathless wilds. At a small Indian settlement, of which the name was Cutifa-Chiqui, a dagger and a rosary were found; the story of the Indians traced them to the expedition of Vasquez de Ayllon; and a two days' journey would reach, it was believed, the harbor of St. Helena. The soldiers thought of home, and desired either to make a settlement on the fruitful soil around them, or to return; but the governor, "a stern man, and of few words," though willingly hearing the opinions of others, was inflexible, and all his followers "condescended to his will."

The direction of the march was now to the north, to the comparatively sterile country of the Cherokees, and in part through a district in which gold is now found. The inhabitants were poor, but gentle; they liberally offered such presents as their habits of life permitted—deer-skins and wild hens. Soto could hardly have crossed the mountains, so as to enter the basin of the Tennessee River; it seems, rather, that he passed from the head-waters of the Savannah, or the Chattahoochee, to the head-waters of the Coosa. The name of Canasauga, a village at which he halted, is still given to a branch of the latter stream. For several months, the Spaniards were in the valleys which send their waters to the Bay of Mobile. Chiaha was an island distant about a hundred miles from Canasauga. An exploring party, which was sent to the north, were appalled by the aspect of the Appalachian chain, and pronounced the mountains impassable. They had looked for mines of copper and gold, and their only plunder was a buffalo robe.

In the latter part of July, the Spaniards were at Coosa. In the course of the season, they had occasion to praise the wild grape of the country,—the same,

perhaps, which has since been thought worthy of culture, — and to admire the luxuriant maize, springing from the fertile plains of Alabama. A southerly direction led the train to Tuscaloosa; nor was it long before the wanderers reached a considerable town on the Alabama, above the junction of the Tombecbee, and about one hundred miles, or six days' journey, from Pensacola. The town was called Mavilla, or Mobile—a name which is still preserved, and applied, not to the bay only, but to the river, after the union of its numerous tributaries. The Spaniards, tired of lodging in the fields, desired to occupy the town; the Indians rose to resist the invaders, whom they distrusted and feared. A battle ensued: the terrors of their cavalry gave the victory to the Spaniards; the town was set on fire, and hundreds of Indians were slain, suffocated, or burned. "Of the Christians, eighteen died;" one hundred and fifty were wounded with arrows; twelve horses were slain, and seventy hurt. The flames had not spared the baggage of the Spaniards; it was within the town, and was entirely consumed.

Meanwhile, ships from Cuba had arrived at Ochus, now Pensacola; but Soto, too proud to confess his failure, determined to send no news of himself, until, like Cortes, he had found some rich country.

The region above the mouth of the Mobile was too poor to promise plunder. Soto retreated towards the north, his troops already reduced, by sickness and warfare, to five hundred men; a month passed away before he reached winter quarters at Chicaça, in the upper part of the state of Mississippi, probably on the western bank of the Yazoo. The weather, in December, was severe, and snow fell; but maize was yet standing in the open fields. When the spring of 1541 opened, Soto, as he had usually done with other tribes, demanded of the chieftain of the Chickasas two hundred men to carry the burdens of his company. The Indians hesitated; and, unwilling to see strangers and enemies occupy their homes, in the dead of night, deceiving the



sentinels, they set fire to their own village, in which the Castilians were encamped. On a sudden, half the houses were in flames; and the loudest notes of the war-whoop rung through the air. The Indians, could they have acted with calm bravery, might have gained an entire victory; but they trembled at their own success, and feared the unequal battle against weapons of steel. In the respite, given to the enemy, of a week, forges were erected, swords newly tempered, and good ashen lances made, equal to the best of Biscay. When the Indians attacked the camp, they found "the Christians" prepared.

Disasters served only to confirm obstinacy by wounding pride. Should he, who had promised greater booty than Mexico or Peru had yielded, now return as a defeated fugitive? The search for some wealthy region was renewed; the caravan marched still farther to the west. For seven days, it struggled through a wilderness of forests and marshes, and, at length, came to Indian settlements in the vicinity of the Mississippi. Soto was the first of Europeans to behold the magnificent river, rolling its immense mass of waters through the splendid vegetation of a wide alluvial soil. The lapse of nearly three centuries has not changed its character: it was then described as more than a mile broad; flowing with a strong current, and, by the weight of its waters, forcing a channel of great depth. The water was always muddy; trees and timber were continually floating on its bosom.

The Spaniards were guided to the Mississippi by natives, and were directed to one of the usual crossing places, probably at the lowest Chickasa Bluff, not far from the thirty-fifth parallel of latitude. The arrival of the strangers awakened curiosity and fear. A multitude of people from the western banks of the river, painted and gayly decorated with great plumes of white feathers, the warriors standing in rows with bow and arrows in their hands, the chieftains sitting under awnings as magnificent as their artless manufactures could

weave, came rowing down the stream, in a fleet of canoes, seeming to the admiring Spaniards "like a fair army of galleys." They brought gifts of fish, and loaves made of the fruit of the persimmon. The boats of the natives were too weak to transport horses; but, in barges of their own construction, the Spaniards soon embarked upon the Mississippi; and Europeans were borne to its western bank.

In ascending the Mississippi, the party was often obliged to wade through morasses, till at length they reached, as it would seem, the dry and elevated lands which extend towards New Madrid. Here the religions of the invaders and the natives came in contrast. The Spaniards were adored as children of the sun, and the blind were brought into their presence, to be healed by the sons of light. "Pray only to God, who is in heaven, for whatsoever ye need," said Soto in reply; and the sublime doctrine, which, thousands of years before, had been proclaimed in the deserts of Arabia, now first found its way into the prairies of the Far West. The wild fruits of that region were abundant; the pecan nut, the mulberry, and the two kinds of wild plums, furnished the natives with articles of food. At Pacaha, the northernmost point which Soto reached near the Mississippi, he remained forty days. The spot cannot be identified; but the accounts of the amusements of the Spaniards confirm the truth of the narrative of their ramblings. Fish were taken, such as are now found in the fresh waters of that region, one of them, the spade fish, the strangest and most whimsical production of the muddy streams of the west, is accurately described by the best historian of the expedition.

An exploring party which was sent to examine the regions to the north, reported that they were almost a desert. The country still nearer the Missouri was said by the Indians to be thinly inhabited; the bison abounded there so much, that no maize could be cultivated; and the few inhabitants were hunters. Soto turned, therefore, to the west and north-west, and plunged still more

deeply into the interior of the continent. The highlands of White River, more than two hundred miles from the Mississippi, were probably the limit of his ramble in this direction. The mountains offered neither gems nor gold; and the disappointed adventurers marched to the south. They passed through a succession of towns, of which the position cannot be fixed, till at length we find them near the hot springs and saline tributaries of the Washita. It was at Autiamque, a town on the same river, that they passed the winter; they had arrived at the settlement through the country of the Kappaws.

In the spring of 1542, Soto determined to descend the Washita to its junction, and to get tidings of the sea. As he advanced, he was soon lost amidst the bayous and marshes which are found along the Red River and its tributaries. At last, he arrived at the province where the Washita, already united with the Red River, enters the Mississippi. The province was called Guachoya. Soto anxiously inquired the distance to the sea; the chieftain of Guachoya could not tell. Were there settlements extending along the river to its mouth? It was answered that its lower banks were an uninhabited waste. Unwilling to believe so disheartening a tale, Soto sent a party of nine men to descend the banks of the Mississippi, and explore the country. They travelled eight days; and, impeded by frequent bayous, impassable cane-brakes, and dense woods, they were able to advance not much more than thirty miles. The governor received the intelligence with gloomy forebodings. His horses and men were dying around him. He attempted to overawe a tribe of Indians near Natchez by claiming a supernatural birth, and demanding obedience and tribute. "You say you are the child of the sun," replied the undaunted chief. "Dry up the river, and I will believe you. Do you desire to see me? Visit the town where I dwell. If you come in peace, I will receive you with special good-will; if in war, I will not shrink one foot back." The stubborn pride of Soto

changed by long disappointments into a wasting melancholy. A malignant fever ensued, during which he had little comfort, and was neither visited nor attended as the last hours of life demand. Believing his death near at hand, he held a solemn interview with his faithful followers; and, yielding to the wishes of his companions, who obeyed him to the last, he named a successor. On the next day, which was the twenty-first of May, 1542, he died. Thus perished Ferdinand de Soto, the governor of Cuba, the successful associate of Pizarro. His miserable end was the more observed, from the greatness of his former prosperity. His soldiers pronounced his eulogy by grief at their loss; the priests chanted over his body the first requiems that were ever heard on the waters of the Mississippi. To conceal his death, his body was wrapped in a mantle, and, in the stillness of midnight, was silently sunk in the middle of the stream. The discoverer of the Mississippi slept beneath its waters. He had crossed a large part of the continent in search of gold, and found nothing so remarkable as his burial-place.

No longer guided by the energy and pride of Soto, the company resolved on reaching New Spain without delay. Should they descend the river in such miserable boats as they could construct? or seek a path to Mexico through the forests? They were unanimous in the opinion, that it was less dangerous to go by land; the hope was still cherished that some wealthy state, some opulent city, might yet be discovered, and all fatigues be forgotten in the midst of victory and spoils. Again they penetrated the western wilderness; in July, they found themselves in the country of the Natchitoches; but the Red River was so swollen that it was impossible for them to pass. As they proceeded, the Indian guides purposely led them astray; "they went up and down through very great woods," without making any progress. The wilderness into which they had at last wandered, was sterile and scarcely inhabited; they reached the great buffalo prairies of the west, the hunt-

ing grounds of the Pawnees and Comanches, the migratory tribes on the confines of Mexico. Desperate as the resolution seemed, it was determined to return once more to the banks of the Mississippi, and follow its current to the sea. There were not wanting men whose hopes and whose courage were not yet exhausted, who wished rather to die in the wilderness than to leave it in poverty; but Moscoso, the new governor, had long "desired to see himself in a place where he might sleep his full sleep."

In December, they came upon the Mississippi, a few leagues above the mouth of Red River, often wading through deep waters, and grateful to God if, at night, they could find a dry resting-place. Nor was it an easy task for men in their condition to build the means of escape. Erecting a forge, they struck off the fetters from the slaves; and, gathering every scrap of iron in the camp, they wrought it into nails. Timber was sawed by hand with a large saw, which they had always carried with them. They calked their vessels with a weed like hemp; barrels, capable of holding water, were with difficulty made: to obtain supplies of provision, all the hogs, and even the horses, were killed, and their flesh preserved by drying; and the neighboring townships of Indians were so plundered of their food, that the miserable inhabitants would come about the Spaniards begging for their own maize. In early summer of 1543, the rising of the Mississippi assisted the launching of the seven brigantines; they were frail barks, which had no decks, and constructed of so thin planks that a little shock would have broken them in pieces. Thus provided, in seventeen days the fugitives reached the Gulf of Mexico; the distance seemed to them two hundred and fifty leagues, and was not much less than five hundred miles. Following, for the most part, the coast, it was more than fifty days before the men who finally escaped, now no more than three hundred and eleven in number, entered the River Panuco.



## CHAPTER III.

## COLONIZATION OF FLORIDA.

THERE were not wanting adventurers who desired to make one more attempt to possess Florida by force of arms; their request was refused. Religious zeal was more persevering. Louis Cancello, a missionary of the Dominican order, gained, through Philip, then heir apparent in Spain, permission to visit Florida, and attempt the peaceful conversion of the natives. Christianity was to conquer the land against which so many expeditions had failed. In 1549, a ship was fitted out with much solemnity; but the priests, who sought the first interview with the natives, were feared as enemies, and, being immediately attacked, Louis and two others fell martyrs to their zeal.

Florida was abandoned. It seemed as if death guarded the avenues to the country. The coast of our republic, on the Gulf of Mexico, was not, at this time, disputed by any other nation with Spain; while that power claimed the whole sea-coast, even to the remotest north. In Spanish geography, Canada was a part of Florida. Yet, within that whole extent, not a Spanish fort was erected, not a harbor was occupied. The first permanent establishment of the Spaniards in Florida was the result of jealous bigotry.

For France had begun to settle the region with a colony of Protestants; and Calvinism, which, under the auspices of Coligny, with the special coöperation of Calvin himself, had, for a short season, occupied the coasts of Brazil and the harbor of Rio Janeiro, was now to be planted within the borders of our republic. The expedition, which Coligny planned, was intrusted to the command of John Ribault, of Dieppe, a brave Huguenot, of maritime experience, and was attended by some of the best of the young French nobility, as well

as by veteran troops. The feeble Charles IX. conceded an ample commission, and the squadron set sail for the shores of North America. Land was first made in the latitude of St. Augustine; the river which we call the St. John's was discovered, and named the River of May. It is the St. Matheo of the Spaniards. In searching for the Jordan or Combahee, they came upon Port Royal entrance, which seemed the outlet of a magnificent stream. The greatest ships of France, and the argosies of Venice, could ride securely in the deep water of the harbor. On the shore, within that entrance, a monumental stone, engraved with the arms of France, was proudly raised; and, as the company looked round upon the immense oaks, which were venerable from the growth of centuries, the profusion of wild fowls, the groves of pine, the flowers perfuming the whole air, they exulted as they called the country a province of their native land. Ribault determined to leave a colony; twenty-six composed the whole party, which was to keep possession of the continent; and Fort Carolina, so called in honor of Charles IX. of France, gave an abiding name to the region.

Ribault and the ships arrived safely in France. But the fires of civil war had been kindled in all the provinces of the kingdom; and the promised reënforcements for Carolina were never levied. The situation of the French became precarious. Their commandant lost his life in a mutiny which his own ungovernable passion had provoked. His successor restored order; but the love of his native land is a passion easily revived in the breast of a Frenchman; and the company resolved to embark in such a brigantine as they could themselves construct. Intoxicated with joy at the thought of returning home, they neglected to provide sufficient stores; and they were overtaken by famine at sea, with its attendant crimes. A small English bark at length boarded their vessel, and, setting the most feeble on shore upon the coast of France, carried the rest to the queen of England. Carolina was still a desert.

After the treacherous peace between Charles IX. and the Huguenots, Coligny, in 1564, renewed his solicitations for colonizing America. The king gave consent; three ships were conceded for the service; and Laudonniere, who, in the former voyage, had been upon the American coast, — a man of great intelligence, though a seaman rather than a soldier, — was appointed to lead forth the colony. Emigrants readily appeared; for the climate of Florida was so celebrated, that, according to rumor, the duration of human life was doubled under its genial influences; and men still dreamed of rich mines of gold in the interior. In June, a voyage of sixty days brought the fleet, by the way of the Canaries and the Antilles, to our shores. The harbor of Port Royal, rendered gloomy by recollections of misery, was avoided; and, after searching the coast, and discovering places which were so full of amenity, that melancholy itself could not but change its humor as it gazed, the followers of Calvin planted themselves on the banks of the River May. They sung a psalm of thanksgiving, and gathered courage from acts of devotion. The fort now erected was also named Carolina.

The French were hospitably welcomed by the natives; a monument, bearing the arms of France, was crowned by them with laurels, and its base encircled with baskets of corn. By degrees the confidence of the natives was exhausted; they had welcomed powerful guests, who promised to become their benefactors, and who now robbed their humble granaries.

But the worst evil in the new settlement was the character of the emigrants, of whom the inferior class was a motley group of dissolute men. Mutinies were frequent. The men were mad with the passion for sudden wealth; and a party, under the pretence of escaping from famine, equipped two vessels, and began a career of piracy against the Spaniards. Meantime, the scarcity became extreme. Of the new year, March was gone, and there were no supplies from France; April passed away, and the expected recruits had not arrived; May



came, but it brought nothing to sustain the hopes of the exiles. It was resolved to return to Europe in such miserable brigantines as despair could build. Just then, Sir John Hawkins, the slave merchant, arrived from the West Indies. He came fresh from the sale of a cargo of Africans whom he had kidnapped with signal ruthlessness; and he now displayed the most generous sympathy, not only furnishing a liberal supply of provisions, but relinquishing a vessel from his own fleet. The colony was on the point of embarking when sails were descried. Ribault had arrived to assume the command, bringing with him supplies of every kind, emigrants with their families, garden seeds, implements of husbandry, and the various kinds of domestic animals. The French, now wild with joy, seemed about to acquire a home, and Calvinism to become fixed in the inviting regions of Florida.

But Spain had never relinquished her claim to that territory, where, if she had not planted colonies, she had buried hundreds of her bravest sons. And should the proud Philip II. suffer his commercial monopoly to be endangered by a rival settlement in the vicinity of the West Indies? Should the bigoted Romanist permit the heresy of Calvinism to be planted near his Catholic provinces? There had appeared at the Spanish court a bold commander, well fitted for acts of reckless hostility. Pedro Melendez de Avilès, as a naval commander, often encountering pirates, had become inured to acts of prompt and unsparing vengeance, and had acquired wealth in Spanish America, which was no school of benevolence. To him the king, who knew him well, and esteemed his bravery, suggested the conquest and colonization of Florida; and a compact for that purpose was soon framed and confirmed.

Intelligence also arrived that the Huguenots had made a plantation in Florida, and that Ribault was preparing to set sail with reënforcements. The cry was raised, that the heretics must be extirpated; and Melendez readily obtained all the forces which he required. Sol-

diers, sailors, priests, Jesuits, married men with their families, laborers and mechanics, and, with the exception of three hundred soldiers, all at the cost of Melendez, engaged in the invasion. The trade-winds soon bore them rapidly across the Atlantic. It was on the day which the customs of Rome have consecrated to the memory of one of the most eloquent sons of Africa, and one of the most venerated of the fathers of the church, that he came in sight of Florida. For four days, he sailed along the coast, uncertain where the French were established; on the fifth, he landed, and gathered from the Indians accounts of the Huguenots. At the same time, he discovered a fine haven and beautiful river; and, remembering the saint, on whose day he came upon the coast, he gave to the harbor, and to the stream, the name of St. Augustine. Sailing, then, to the north, he discovered a portion of the French fleet, and observed the nature of the road where they were anchored. The French demanded his name and objects. "I am Melendez of Spain," replied he, "sent with strict orders from my king to gibbet and behead all the Protestants in these regions. The Frenchman who is a Catholic, I will spare; every heretic shall die." The French fleet, unprepared for action, cut its cables; the Spaniards, for some time, continued an ineffectual chase.

It was at the hour of vespers, on the evening preceding the festival of the nativity of Mary, that the Spaniards returned to the harbor of St. Augustine. At noonday of the festival itself, the governor went on shore, to take possession of the continent in the name of his king. The bigoted Philip II. was proclaimed monarch of all North America. The solemn mass of Our Lady was performed, and the foundation of St. Augustine was immediately laid. It is, by more than forty years, the oldest town in the United States; houses in it are yet standing, which are said to have been built many years before Virginia was colonized.

By the French it was debated whether they should

improve their fortifications, and await the approach of the Spaniards, or proceed to sea, and attack their enemy. Against the advice of his officers, Ribault resolved upon the latter course. Hardly had he left the harbor for the open sea, before there arose a fearful storm, which continued till October, and wrecked the French fleet on the Florida coast: the vessels were dashed against the rocks about fifty leagues south of Fort Carolina; most of the men escaped with their lives.

The Spanish ships also suffered, but not so severely; and the troops at St. Augustine were entirely safe. They knew that the French settlement was left in a defenceless state. With a fanatical indifference to toil, Melendez led his men through the lakes, and marshes, and forests, that divided the St. Augustine from the St. John's, and, with a furious onset, surprised the weak garrison, who had looked only towards the sea for the approach of danger. After a short contest, the Spaniards were masters of the fort. A scene of carnage ensued: of soldiers, women, children, the aged, the sick, nearly two hundred persons were massacred. A few escaped into the woods,—among them Laudonniere, Challus, and Le Moyne, who have related the horrors of the scene. But whither should they fly? Death met them in the woods; and the heavens, the earth, the sea, and men, all seemed conspired against them. Should they surrender, appealing to the sympathy of their conquerors? "Let us," said Challus, "trust in the mercy of God, rather than of these men." A few gave themselves up, and were immediately murdered. The others, after the severest sufferings, found their way to the sea-side, and were received on board two small French vessels which had remained in the harbor. The victory had been gained on the twenty-first of September, 1565, the day of the festival of St. Matthew; and hence the Spanish name of the River May. After the carnage was completed, mass was said, a cross was raised, and the site for a church selected, on ground still smoking with the blood of a peaceful colony!

The shipwrecked men were, in their turn, soon discovered. They were in a state of helpless weakness, wasted by their fatigues at sea, half famished, destitute of water and of food. Melendez invited them to rely on his compassion; the French capitulated, and were received among the Spaniards in such successive divisions as a boat could at once ferry across the intervening river. As the captives stepped upon the bank which their enemies occupied, their hands were tied behind them; and in this way they were marched towards St. Augustine, like a flock of sheep driven to the slaughter-house. As they approached the fort, a signal was given; and, amidst the sound of trumpets and drums, the Spaniards fell upon the unhappy men, who had confided in their humanity, and who could offer no resistance. A few Catholics were spared; some mechanics were reserved as slaves; the rest were massacred, "not as Frenchmen, but as Calvinists."

Melendez returned to Spain, impoverished, but triumphant. The French government heard of the outrage with indifference; but the Huguenots and the French nation did not share the apathy of the court. Dominic de Gourgues, a bold soldier of Gascony, whose life had been a series of adventures, — now employed in the army against Spain, now a prisoner among the Spaniards; taken by the Turks, with the vessel in which he rowed, and redeemed by the commander of the knights of Malta, — burned with a desire to avenge his own wrongs and the honor of his country. The sale of his property, and the contributions of his friends, furnished the means of equipping three ships, in which, with one hundred and fifty men, in August, 1567, he embarked for Florida, desiring only revenge. He was able to surprise two forts near the mouth of the St. Matheo; and, as terror magnified the number of his followers, the consternation of the Spaniards enabled him to gain possession of the larger fort near the spot which the French colony had fortified. Too weak to maintain his position, he hastily weighed anchor for Europe, having, on the third

of May, 1568, hanged his prisoners upon the trees, and placed over them the inscription, "I do not this as unto Spaniards or mariners, but as unto traitors, robbers, and murderers." The natives, who had been ill treated both by the Spaniards and the French, enjoyed the savage consolation of seeing their enemies butcher one another.

The attack of the fiery Gascon was but a passing storm. France disavowed the expedition, and relinquished all pretension to Florida. Spain grasped at it, as a portion of her dominions; and, if discovery could confer a right, her claim was founded in justice. Cuba now formed the centre of her West Indian possessions, and every thing around it was included within her empire. Sovereignty was asserted, not only over the archipelagos within the tropics, but over the whole continent round the inner seas. From the remotest south-eastern cape of the Caribbean, along the whole shore to the Cape of Florida, and beyond it, all was hers; the Gulf of Mexico lay embosomed within her territories.

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## CHAPTER IV.

### ENGLAND PREPARES TO COLONIZE THE UNITED STATES.

ABOUT the time of the return of De Gourgues, Walter Raleigh, a young Englishman, had abruptly left the university of Oxford, and, with the prince of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV., was learning the art of war under the veteran Coligny. The Huguenots, at that time, glowed with indignation at the massacre which De Gourgues had avenged; and Raleigh could not but gather from his associates and his commander intelligence respecting Florida. Some of the miserable men, who escaped from the first expedition, had been con-

ducted to Elizabeth, and had kindled the desire of possessing the southern coast of our republic. The reports of Hawkins, who had been the benefactor of the French on the River May, increased the excitement; and De Morgues, the painter, who had sketched in Florida the most remarkable appearances of nature, ultimately found the opportunity of finishing his designs, through the munificence of Raleigh.

The progress of English maritime enterprise had prepared the way for colonization. The second expedition of the Cabots was, as we have seen, connected with plans for settlements. In a patent issued in 1501, the design of establishing emigrants in the New World is distinctly proposed. Where no profits followed adventure, navigation soon languished; yet the connection between England and the New-Found Land was never abandoned. Documentary evidence exists of voyages favored by the English, till the time when the Normans, the Biscayans, and the Bretons, began to frequent the fisheries on the American coast.

Nor was the reign of Henry VIII. unfavorable to the mercantile interests of his kingdom; and that monarch, considering the discovery of the north as his "charge and duty," made such experiments as the favorable situation of England appeared to demand. The English never abandoned the hope of planting a colony on the continent which Cabot had discovered.

The statute books of England for 1541 give proof that the "new land" of America had engaged the attention of parliament; and, after the accession of Edward, the fisheries of Newfoundland obtained the protection of a special act.

But India was still esteemed the great region of wealth. Thrice, at least, perhaps thrice by Cabot alone, the attempt at a north-western passage to Southern Asia had been made, and always in vain. In 1553, a north-east passage was proposed; the fleet of Willoughby and Chancellor was to reach the rich lands of Cathay by doubling the northern promontory of Lapland. The



ships parted company; and the admiral was driven, by the severity of the polar autumn, to seek shelter in a Lapland harbor. When search was made for him, in the spring of 1554, Willoughby himself was found dead in his cabin. His journal, detailing his sufferings from the polar winter, was complete, probably, to the day when his senses were suspended by the intolerable cold. His ship's company lay dead in various parts of the vessel, some alone, some in groups. The other ship reached the harbor of Archangel: this was "the discovery of Russia," or, as a Spanish writer calls it, "a discovery of new Indies."

The marriage of Mary with the king of Spain tended to excite the emulation which it was designed to check. Religious restraints, the thirst for rapid wealth, the desire of strange adventure, had driven the boldest spirits of Spain to the New World; their deeds had been commemorated by the copious and accurate details of the Spanish historians; and the English, through the alliance of their sovereign, made familiar with the Spanish language and literature, became emulous of Spanish success beyond the ocean.

The firmness of Elizabeth seconded the enterprise of her subjects. She strengthened her navy, filled her arsenals, and encouraged the building of ships in England: she animated the adventurers to Russia and to Africa by her special protection; and, while her subjects were endeavoring to penetrate into Persia by land, and enlarge their commerce with the East by combining the use of ships and caravans, the harbors of Spanish America were, at the same time, visited by their privateers, in pursuit of the rich galleons of Spain; and at least from thirty to fifty English ships came annually to the bays and banks of Newfoundland. The press teemed with books of travels, maps and descriptions of the earth; and Sir Humphrey Gilbert, reposing from the toils of war, prepared a judicious and well-written argument in favor of the possibility of a north-western passage.

The same views were entertained by one of the boldest men who ever ventured upon the ocean. For fifteen years, Martin Frobisher, an Englishman, well versed in various navigation, had revolved the design of accomplishing the discovery of the north-western passage, esteeming it "the only thing of the world, that was yet left undone, by which a notable minde might be made famous and fortunate." Too poor himself to provide a ship, after years of vain desire, his representations found a hearing at court; and Dudley, earl of Warwick, liberally promoted his design. Two small barks, of twenty-five and of twenty tons', with a pinnace of ten tons' burden, composed the whole fleet, which, in the summer of 1576, was to enter gulfs that none but Cabot had visited. During a storm on the voyage, the pinnace was swallowed up by the sea; the mariners in the Michael became terrified, and turned their prow homewards; but Frobisher, in a vessel not much surpassing in tonnage the barge of a man-of-war, made his way, fearless and unattended, to the shores of Labrador, and to a passage or inlet north of the entrance of Hudson's Bay. A strange perversion has transferred the scene of his discoveries to the eastern coast of Greenland; it was among a group of American islands, in the latitude of sixty-three degrees and eight minutes, that he entered what seemed to be a strait. To land upon an island, and perhaps on the main; to gather up stones and rubbish, in token of having taken possession of the country for Elizabeth; to seize one of the natives of the north for exhibition to the gaze of Europe; — this was all he accomplished.

A stone, which Frobisher had brought from the frozen regions, was pronounced by the refiners of London to contain gold. The news excited the wakeful avarice of the city. A fleet was immediately, in 1577, fitted out to procure gold; and the queen, who had contributed nothing to the voyage of discovery, sent a large ship of her own to join the search for infinite opulence. The mariners, having received the communion, em-



barked for the arctic El Dorado, "and with a merrie wind" soon arrived at the Orkneys. As they reached the north-eastern coast of America, mountains of ice encompassed them: the mariners were alternately agitated with fears of shipwreck and joy at escape: at one moment they expected death, and at the next they looked for gold. The fleet made no discoveries; it did not advance so far as Frobisher alone had done. But it found large heaps of earth, which, even to the incredulous, seemed plainly to contain the coveted wealth; besides, spiders abounded; and, in those days, "spiders were true signs of great store of gold." What bolder maritime enterprise, than, in that day, a voyage to lands lying north of Hudson's Straits! What folly more egregious than to have gone there for a lading of useless earth?

But credulity is apt to be self-willed. The passion for gold, unrelenting in its purpose, can penetrate the prairies of Arkansas, and covet the moss-grown barrens of the Esquimaux. A magnificent fleet of fifteen sail was assembled, in 1578, in part at the expense of Elizabeth; the sons of the English gentry embarked as volunteers; one hundred persons were chosen to form the colony, which was to secure to England a country more desirable than Peru, — a country too inhospitable to produce a tree or a shrub, yet where gold lay, not charily concealed in mines, but glistening in heaps upon the surface. Twelve vessels were to return immediately, with cargoes of the ore; three were ordered to remain and aid the settlement. The north-west passage was now become of less consideration; Asia itself could not vie with the riches of this hyperborean archipelago.

But the entrance to these wealthy islands was rendered difficult by frost, and the fleet of Frobisher was bewildered among icebergs: one vessel was crushed and sunk, though the men on board were saved. In the dangerous mists, the ships lost their course. After encountering peril of every kind; "getting in at one gap, and out at another;" escaping only by miracle from hid-

den rocks and unknown currents, ice, and a lee shore, which was, at one time, avoided only by a prosperous breath of wind in the very moment of extreme danger; the admiral at last arrived at the haven in the Countess of Warwick's Sound. The ship laden with provisions for the colony, deserted and returned. The plan of the settlement was abandoned; it only remained to freight the home-bound ships with a store of minerals. The adventurers and the historians of the voyage are silent about the disposition which was made of the cargo. The knowledge of the seas was not extended; but there remained a firm conviction that a passage to the Pacific Ocean might yet be threaded among the icebergs and northern islands of America.

While Frobisher was thus attempting to obtain wealth and fame on the north-east coast of America, Francis Drake, after acquiring immense treasures as a freebooter in the Spanish harbors on the Pacific, determined to explore the north-western coast of America, in the hope of discovering the strait which connects the oceans. With this view, in 1579, he crossed the equator, sailed beyond the peninsula of California, and followed the continent to the latitude of forty-three degrees. Despairing of success, he retired to a harbor within the limits of Mexico, and, having refitted his ship, and named the country New Albion, sailed for England through the seas of Asia. Thus was the southern part of the Oregon Territory first visited by Englishmen, yet not till after a voyage of the Spanish from Acapulco, commanded by Cabrillo, a Portuguese, had, in 1542, traced the American continent to within two and a half degrees of the mouth of Columbia River; while, thirteen years after the voyage of Drake, John de Fuca, a mariner from the Isles of Greece, then in the employ of the viceroy of Mexico, is thought to have sailed into the bay now known as the Gulf of Georgia.

While the queen of England and her adventurers were dazzled by the glittering prospects of mines of gold in the frozen regions of the remote north, Sir

Humphrey Gilbert, with a sounder judgment and a better knowledge, watched the progress of the fisheries, and formed healthy plans for colonization. He was one of those who alike despise fickleness and fear: danger never turned him aside from the pursuit of honor or the service of his sovereign; for he knew that death is inevitable, and the fame of virtue immortal. It was not difficult for him to obtain a patent, conferring on himself or his assigns the soil which he might discover, and the sole jurisdiction, both civil and criminal, of the territory within two hundred leagues of the settlement to be formed.

Under this patent, Gilbert began to collect a company of volunteer adventurers, contributing largely from his own fortune to the preparation. Jarrings and divisions ensued, before the voyage of 1579 was begun; many abandoned what they had inconsiderately undertaken; the general and a few of his assured friends — among them, perhaps, his step-brother, Walter Raleigh — put to sea: one of his ships was lost; and misfortune compelled the remainder to return.

But the pupil of Coligny was possessed of an active genius, which delighted in hazardous adventure. Before the limit of the charter had expired, Gilbert, assisted by his brother, equipped and sent forth a new squadron. Two days after leaving Plymouth, the largest ship in the fleet, which had been furnished by Raleigh, who himself remained in England, deserted, under a pretence of infectious disease, and returned into harbor. Gilbert was incensed, but not intimidated. He sailed for Newfoundland, and, entering St. John's, summoned the Spaniards and Portuguese, and other strangers, to witness the ceremonies by which he took possession of the country for his sovereign.

Having abandoned one of their barks, the English, now in three vessels only, sailed on further discoveries, intending to visit the coast of the United States. But they had not proceeded towards the south beyond the

latitude of Wiscasset, when, in August, 1583, the largest ship, from the carelessness of the crew, struck, and was wrecked, and nearly a hundred men perished.

It seemed necessary to hasten to England. Gilbert had sailed in the *Squirrel*, a bark of ten tons only, convenient for entering harbors and approaching the coast. On the homeward voyage, the brave admiral would not forsake his little company, with whom he had encountered so many storms and perils. A desperate resolution! The weather was extremely rough; the oldest mariner had never seen "more outrageous seas." The little frigate, not more than twice as large as the long-boat of a merchantman, 'too small a bark to pass through the ocean sea at that season of the year,' was nearly wrecked. With a voice louder than the storm, the general, holding a book, cried out to those in the *Hind*, "We are as neere to heaven by sea as by land!" That same night, about twelve o'clock, the lights of the *Squirrel* suddenly disappeared; and neither the vessel nor any of its crew was ever again seen. The *Hind* reached Falmouth in safety.

The bold spirit of Raleigh was not disheartened by the sad fate of his step-brother; but he revolved a settlement in those milder countries from which Huguenots had been expelled. Having presented a memorial, he readily obtained from Elizabeth a patent as ample as that which had been conferred on Gilbert. It was drawn according to the principles of feudal law, and with strict regard to the Christian faith, as professed in the Church of England.

Expectations rose high, since the balmy regions of the south were now to be colonized. Two vessels, well laden with men and provisions, under the command of Philip Amidas and Arthur Barlow, buoyant with hope, set sail for the New World. They pursued the circuitous route by the Canaries and the islands of the West Indies: after a short stay in those islands, they sailed for the north, and, in July, 1584, were opposite the shores of Carolina. As they drew near land, the fragrance was

“as if they had been in the midst of some delicate garden, abounding with all kinds of odoriferous flowers.” They ranged the coast for a distance of one hundred and twenty miles, in search of a convenient harbor; and, entering the first which offered, after thanks to God for their safe arrival, they landed to take possession of the country for the queen of England.

The spot on which this ceremony was performed, was in the Island of Wocoken, the southernmost of the islands forming Ocracock Inlet. The shores of North Carolina, at some periods of the year, cannot safely be approached by a fleet, from the hurricanes which sweep the air in those regions, and against which the formation of the coast offers no secure roadsteads and harbors. But in the month of July, the sea was tranquil; the skies were bright; the air was agitated by none but the gentlest breezes; and the English commanders were in raptures with the beauty of the ocean, seen in the magnificence of repose, gemmed with islands, and expanding in the clearest transparency from cape to cape. The vegetation of that southern latitude struck the beholders with admiration; the trees had not their paragon in the world; the luxuriant vines, as they clambered up the loftiest cedars, formed graceful festoons; grapes were so plenty upon every little shrub, that the surge of the ocean, as it lazily rolled in upon the shore with the quiet winds of summer, seemed to dash its spray upon the clusters; and natural arbors formed an impervious shade, that not a ray of the suns of July could penetrate. The forests were filled with birds; and, at the discharge of an arquebuse, whole flocks would arise, uttering a cry, which the many echoes redoubled, till it seemed as if an army of men had shouted together.

The gentleness of the native inhabitants appeared in harmony with the loveliness of the scene. On the Island of Roanoke, the English were entertained by the wife of Granganimeo, father of Wingina, the king, with Arcadian hospitality. “The people were most gentle, loving, and faithful, void of all guile and treason, and

such as lived after the manner of the golden age." And yet it was added, that the wars of these guileless men were cruel and bloody; that dissensions had almost exterminated tribes.

The adventurers, having made but a short stay in America, arrived in September in the west of England, accompanied by Manteo and Wanchese, two natives of the wilderness; and the returning voyagers gave such glowing descriptions of their discoveries, as might be expected from men who had done no more than sail over the smooth waters of a summer's sea, among "the hundred islands" of North Carolina. Elizabeth, as she heard their reports, esteemed her reign signalized by the discovery of the enchanting regions, and, as a memorial of her state of life, named them Virginia.

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## CHAPTER V.

### COLONIES ATTEMPTED IN CAROLINA AND NEW ENGLAND.

ELECTED to represent in parliament the county of Devon, Raleigh obtained a bill confirming his patent of discovery; and, while he received the honor of knighthood, a lucrative monopoly enabled him to continue with vigor his schemes of colonization. The prospect of becoming the proprietary of a delightful territory, with a numerous tenantry, who should yield him not only a revenue, but allegiance, inflamed his ambition; and, as the English nation listened with credulity to the descriptions of Amidas and Barlow, it was not difficult to gather a numerous company of emigrants.

The new expedition was composed of seven vessels, and carried one hundred and eight colonists to the shores of Carolina. Ralph Lane, afterwards knighted



by Queen Elizabeth, was willing to act for Raleigh as their governor, while Sir Richard Grenville assumed the command of the fleet. It sailed from Plymouth, in April, 1585, accompanied by several men of merit, whom the world remembers; — by Cavendish, who soon, after circumnavigated the globe; Hariot, the inventor of the system of notation in modern algebra, the historian of the expedition; and With, an ingenious painter, whose sketches of the natives, their habits and modes of life, were famed for beauty and exactness.

In June, the fleet fell in with the main land of Florida; it was in great danger of being wrecked on the cape which was then first called the Cape of Fear, and, after encountering perils on the shoals of that coast, made its way through Ocracock Inlet to Roanoke.

Manteo, the friend of the English, who returned with the fleet from a visit to England, was at once sent to the main to announce their arrival; while Grenville, accompanied by Lane, Hariot, Cavendish, and others, in an excursion of eight days, explored the coast as far as Secotan. At one of the Indian towns, a silver cup had been stolen; its restoration was delayed; with hasty cruelty, Grenville ordered the village to be burnt, and the standing corn to be destroyed. Not long after this action of inconsiderate revenge, the ships, having landed the colony, sailed for England.

The employments of Lane and his colonists, after the departure of Grenville, could be none other than to examine the country. "It is the goodliest soil" — such were his words — "under the cope of heaven; the most pleasing territory of the world: the continent is of a huge and unknown greatness, and very well peopled and towned, though savagely. The climate is so wholesome, that we have not one sick since we touched the land. If Virginia had but horses and kine, and were inhabited with English, no realm in Christendom were comparable to it."

The keenest observer was Hariot; and he was often employed in dealing with "the natural inhabitants."



He carefully examined the productions of the country—those which would furnish commodities for commerce, and those which were in esteem among the natives. He watched the culture of tobacco, accustomed himself to its use, and was a firm believer in its healing virtues. The culture of maize, and the extraordinary productiveness of that grain, especially attracted his admiration; and the tuberous roots of the potato, when boiled, were found to be very good food. The inhabitants are described as too feeble to inspire terror; clothed in mantles and aprons of deer-skins; having no weapons but wooden swords, and bows of witch-hazel, with arrows of reeds; no armor but targets of bark and sticks wickered together with thread. Their towns were small, the largest containing but thirty dwellings. The walls of the houses were made of bark, fastened to stakes; and sometimes consisted of poles fixed upright, one by another, and at the top bent over and fastened, as arbors are sometimes made in gardens. But the great peculiarity of the Indians consisted in the want of political connection. A single town often constituted a government; a collection of ten or twenty wigwams was an independent state. The greatest chief in the whole country could not muster more than seven or eight hundred fighting men. The dialect of each government seemed a language by itself. The country which Hariot explored was on the boundary of the Algonquin race, where the Lenni-Lenape tribes melted into the widely-differing nations of the south. The wars among themselves rarely led them to the open battle-field; they were accustomed rather to sudden surprises at daybreak or by moonlight, to ambushes, and the subtle devices of cunning falsehood. Destitute of the arts, they yet displayed excellency of wit in all which they attempted. Nor were they entirely ignorant of religion; but to the credulity of polytheism they joined a confused belief in the existence of one supreme Power. It is natural to the human mind to desire immortality; the natives of Carolina believed in continued existence after death,

and in retributive justice. The mathematical instruments, the burning-glass, guns, clocks, and the use of letters, seemed the works of gods, rather than of men; and the English were revered as the pupils and favorites of Heaven. In every town which Hariot entered, he displayed the Bible, and explained its truths; the Indians revered the volume rather than its doctrines; and, with a fond superstition, they embraced the book, kissed it, and held it to their breasts and heads, as if it had been an amulet. As the colonists enjoyed uniform health, and had no women with them, there were some among the Indians who imagined the English were not born of woman, and therefore not mortal; that they were men of an old generation, risen to immortality. The terrors of fire-arms the natives could neither comprehend nor resist; every sickness which now prevailed among them, was attributed to wounds from invisible bullets, discharged by unseen agents, with whom the air was supposed to be peopled. They prophesied, that "there were more of the English generation yet to come, to kill theirs and take their places;" and some believed that the purpose of extermination was already matured, and its execution begun.

Was it strange, then, that the natives desired to be delivered from the presence of guests by whom they feared to be supplanted? The colonists were mad with the passion for gold; and a wily savage invented, respecting the River Roanoke and its banks, extravagant tales, which nothing but cupidity could have credited. Lane was so credulous, that he attempted to ascend the rapid current of the Roanoke; but he hardly advanced higher up the river than some point near the present village of Williamstown.

Meantime, the English believed that a general conspiracy was forming to destroy them in one massacre. Perhaps they were precipitate in giving faith to the whispers of jealousy; it is certain that, in the contest of dissimulation, they proved themselves the more successful adepts. Desiring an audience of Wingina, the

most active among the native chiefs, Lane and his attendants were quickly admitted to his presence. No hostile intentions were displayed by the Indians; their reception of the English was proof of their confidence. Immediately a preconcerted watchword was given; and the Christians, falling upon the unhappy king and his principal followers, put them without mercy to death.

It was evident that Lane did not possess the qualities suited to his station. His discoveries were inconsiderable: to the south they had extended only to Secotan, in the present county of Craven, between the Pamlico and the Neuse; to the north they reached no farther than the small River Elizabeth, which joins the Chesapeake Bay below Norfolk; in the interior, besides the short excursion up the Roanoke, the Chowan had been examined beyond the junction of the Meherrin and the Nottaway. Yet some general results of importance were obtained. The hope of finding good harbors was confirmed; and the Bay of Chesapeake was already regarded as the fit theatre for early colonization. But in the Island of Roanoke, the men began to despond; they looked in vain towards the ocean for supplies from England; when, of a sudden, in June, 1586, it was rumored that the sea was white with the sails of three-and-twenty ships; and Sir Francis Drake soon anchored his fleet in "the wild road" outside of Roanoke Inlet.

He had come, on his way from the West Indies to England, to visit the domain of his friend. With the celerity of genius, he prepared to supply the wants of Lane to the uttermost.

But a storm suddenly arose, and nearly wrecked the fleet, which found no security but in weighing anchor and standing away from the shore. When the tempest was over, the humanity of Drake again devised measures for continuing discoveries; but Lane shared the despondency of his men; and Drake yielded to their unanimous desire of permission to embark in his ships for England. Thus ended the first actual settlement of the English in America. The exiles of a year had

grown familiar with the favorite amusement of the lethargic Indians; and they introduced into England the familiar use of tobacco.

A few days after the precipitate departure of Lane, a ship arrived laden with all stores needed by the infant settlement. It had been despatched by Raleigh; but, finding "the paradise of the world" deserted, it could only return to England. Another fortnight had hardly elapsed, when Sir Richard Grenville appeared off the coast with three well-furnished ships, and renewed the vain search for the departed colony. Unwilling that the English should lose possession of the country, he left fifteen men on the Island of Roanoke, to be the guardians of English rights.

The decisive testimony of Hariot to the excellence of the country, still rendered it easy to collect a new colony for America. Raleigh now determined to plant an agricultural state; to send emigrants with wives and families, who should at once make their homes in the New World; and, that life and property might be secured, he granted a charter of incorporation for the settlement, and established a municipal government for "the city of Raleigh." John White was appointed its governor; and to him, with eleven assistants, the administration of the colony was intrusted. A fleet of transport ships was prepared at the expense of the proprietary; for Queen Elizabeth refused all aid. The company, as it embarked, in April, 1587, was cheered by the presence of women; and an ample provision of the implements of husbandry gave a pledge for successful industry. In July, they arrived on the coast of North Carolina; they were saved from the dangers of Cape Fear; and, passing Cape Hatteras, they hastened to the Isle of Roanoke, to search for the handful of men whom Grenville had left there as a garrison. They found the tenements deserted, and overgrown with weeds; human bones lay scattered on the field; wild deer were reposing in the untenanted houses, or were feeding on the productions which a rank vegetation still forced from the gardens.

The fort was in ruins. No vestige of surviving life appeared. The miserable men whom Grenville had left, had been murdered by the Indians.

The instructions of Raleigh had designated the place for the new settlement on the Bay of the Chesapeake. But Fernando, the naval officer, eager to renew a profitable traffic in the West Indies, refused his assistance in exploring the coast; and White was compelled to remain on Roanoke. In July, at the northern extremity of the island, the foundations of the city of Raleigh were laid. There the inquisitive stranger may yet discern the ruins of the fort, round which the cottages of the new settlement were erected.

The mother and the kindred of Manteo welcomed the English to the Island of Croatan; and a mutual friendship was continued, although the alliance was not unclouded. The vanities of life, too, were not forgotten; and Manteo, the faithful Indian chief, "by the commandment of Sir Walter Raleigh," received Christian baptism, and was invested with the rank of a feudal baron, as the lord of Roanoke.

As the time for the departure of the ship for England drew near, the emigrants became gloomy with apprehensions; they were conscious of their dependence on Europe; and they, with one voice, women as well as men, urged the governor to return, and use his vigorous intercession for the prompt despatch of reënforcements and supplies. Yet, previous to his departure, his daughter, Eleanor Dare, the wife of one of the assistants, gave birth to a female child, the first offspring of English parents on the soil of the United States. The infant was named from the place of its birth. The colony, now composed of eighty-nine men, seventeen women, and two children, whose names are all preserved, might reasonably hope for the speedy return of the governor, who, as he sailed for England, left with them, as hostages, his daughter and his grandchild, Virginia Dare.

And yet even those ties were insufficient. The colony received no seasonable relief; and the further history



of this neglected plantation is involved in gloomy uncertainty. The inhabitants of "the city of Raleigh," the emigrants from England, and the first born of America, failed, like their predecessors, in establishing an enduring settlement; but, unlike their predecessors, they awaited death in the land of their adoption. If America had no English town, it soon had English graves.

For when White reached England, he found its whole attention absorbed by the threats of an invasion from Spain. Yet Raleigh found means to despatch two vessels with supplies; but they were driven back by the enemy. Nor could the poor colonists of Roanoke be again remembered till after the discomfiture of the Invincible Armada.

Having already incurred a fruitless expense of forty thousand pounds, Sir Walter Raleigh, no longer able himself to continue the enterprise, used the privilege of his patent to form a company of merchants and adventurers, who, it was hoped, would replenish Virginia with settlers. Among the men who thus, in March, 1589, obtained an assignment of the proprietary's rights in Virginia, is found the name of Richard Hakluyt; it connects the first efforts of England in North Carolina with the final colonization of Virginia. The colonists at Roanoke had emigrated with a charter; the new instrument was not an assignment of Raleigh's patent, but extended a grant, already held under its sanction, by increasing the number to whom the rights conferred by that charter belonged.

Yet more than another year elapsed before White could return to search for his colony and his daughter; and then the Island of Roanoke was a desert. An inscription on the bark of a tree pointed to Croatan; but the season of the year and the dangers from storms were pleaded as an excuse for an immediate return. Had the emigrants already perished? or had they escaped with their lives to Croatan, and, through the friendship of Manteo, become familiar with the Indians? The conjecture has been hazarded, that the deserted colony,

neglected by their own countrymen, were hospitably adopted into the tribe of Hatteras Indians, and became amalgamated with the sons of the forest. Raleigh long cherished the hope of discovering some vestiges of their existence; and, though he had abandoned the design of colonizing Virginia, he yet sent, at his own charge, and, it is said, at five several times, to search for his liegemen. But imagination received no help, in its attempts to trace the fate of the colony of Roanoke.

The name of Raleigh stands highest among the statesmen of England who advanced the colonization of the United States, and his fame belongs to American history. No Englishman of his age possessed so various or so extraordinary qualities. Courage which was never daunted, mild self-possession, and fertility of invention, insured him glory in his profession of arms. In every danger, his life was distinguished by valor; and his death was ennobled by true magnanimity. Admirable in active life, he was also an accomplished scholar. No statesman in retirement ever expressed the charms of tranquil leisure more beautifully than Raleigh; and it was not entirely with the language of grateful friendship that Spenser described his "sweet verse as sprinkled with nectar," and rivalling the melodies of the "summer's nightingale." When an unjust verdict, contrary to probability and the evidence, "against law and against equity," on a charge which seems to have been a pure invention, left him to languish for years in prison, with the sentence of death suspended over his head, his active genius plunged into the depths of erudition; and he who had been a soldier, a courtier, and a seaman, became the elaborate author of a learned *History of the World*.

His career as a statesman was honorable to the pupil of Coligny and the contemporary of L'Hôpital. In his public policy, he was thoroughly an English patriot, jealous of the honor, the prosperity, and the advancement of his country. In parliament, he defended the freedom of domestic industry; and, while he pertina-



ciously used his influence with his sovereign to mitigate the severity of the judgments against the non-conformists, as a legislator he resisted the sweeping enactment of persecuting laws.

In the career of discovery, his perseverance was never baffled by losses. His sagacity early enjoined a settlement within the Chesapeake Bay; the publications of Hariot and Hakluyt, which he countenanced, diffused over England a knowledge of America, as well as an interest in its destinies, and sowed the seeds, of which the fruits were to ripen during his lifetime, though not for him.

The judgments of the tribunals of the Old World are often reversed at the bar of public opinion in the New. The family of the chief author of early colonization in the United States was reduced to beggary by the government of England, and he himself was beheaded. After a lapse of nearly two centuries, the state of North Carolina, by a solemn act of legislation, revived in its capital "THE CITY OF RALEIGH," and thus expressed its grateful respect for the memory of the extraordinary man who united in himself as many kinds of glory as were ever combined in an individual.

Some traffic with Virginia may perhaps have been continued. But with the north, the connection of the English merchants was become so intimate, that, in 1593, Sir Walter Raleigh, in the house of commons, declared the fishing of Newfoundland to be the stay of the west countries. It had also trained men for the career of discovery; and Bartholomew Gosnold, with the concurrence of Raleigh, had well nigh secured to New England the honor of the first permanent English colony. Steering, in a small bark, directly across the Atlantic, in seven weeks he reached the continent of America, in the Bay of Massachusetts, not far to the north of Nahant. He failed to observe a good harbor, and, standing for the south, discovered the promontory which he called Cape Cod — a name which would not yield to that of the next monarch of England. Here, on the

fourteenth of May, 1602, he and four of his men landed Cape Cod was the first spot in New England ever trod by Englishmen. Doubling the cape, and passing Nantucket, they again landed on a little island, now called No Man's Land, and afterwards passed round the glittering promontory of Gay Head, naming it Dover Cliff. At length they entered Buzzard's Bay — a stately sound, which they called Gosnold's Hope. The westernmost of the islands was named Elizabeth, from the queen — a name which has been transferred to the whole group. Here they beheld the rank vegetation of a virgin soil; the noble forests; the wild fruits and the flowers, bursting from the earth. Within a pond on the island lies a rocky islet; here the adventurers built their storehouse and their fort; and here the foundations of the first New England colony were to be laid. The natural features remain unchanged; the island, the pond, the islet, are all yet visible; but the forests are gone; and the ruins of the fort can no longer be discerned.

After a traffic with the natives on the main land, and gathering sassafras root, then greatly esteemed in pharmacy as a sovereign panacea, the design of leaving a little garrison on the Elizabeth Islands was wisely abandoned; and the whole party soon set sail and bore for England. The return voyage lasted but five weeks; and the expedition was completed in less than four months, during which entire health had prevailed.

Gosnold and his companions spread the most favorable reports of the regions which he had visited. Could it be that the voyage was so safe, the climate so pleasant, the country so inviting? The merchants of Bristol, with the ready assent of Raleigh, and at the instance of Richard Hakluyt, the enlightened friend and able documentary historian of these commercial enterprises, — a man whose fame should be vindicated and asserted in the land which he helped to colonize, — determined to pursue the career of investigation. The *Speedwell*, a small ship of fifty tons and thirty men, the *Discoverer*, a bark of twenty-six tons and thirteen men, under the command

of Martin Pring, set sail for America in April, 1603, a few days after the death of the queen. It was a private undertaking, and therefore not retarded by that event. The ship was well provided with trinkets and merchandise, suited to a traffic with the natives; and this voyage also was successful. It reached the American coast among the islands which skirt the harbors of Maine. The mouth of the Penobscot offered good anchorage and fishing. Pring made a discovery of the eastern rivers and harbors — the Saco, the Kennebunk, and the York; and the channel of the Piscataqua was examined for three or four leagues. Meeting no sassafras, he steered for the south, doubled Cape Ann, and went on shore in Massachusetts; but, being still unsuccessful, he again pursued a southerly track, and finally anchored in Old Town harbor, on Martha's Vineyard. The whole absence lasted about six months, and was completed without disaster or danger. In 1606, Pring repeated his voyage, and made a more accurate survey of Maine.

Enterprises for discovery were now continuous. Bartholomew Gilbert, returning from the West Indies, made an unavailing search for the colony of Raleigh. It was the last attempt to trace the remains of those unfortunate men. But as the testimony of Pring had confirmed the reports of Gosnold, the career of navigation was vigorously pursued. An expedition in 1605, promoted by the earl of Southampton, and commanded by George Weymouth, left England in March, and, in about six weeks, came in sight of the American continent near Cape Cod. Turning to the north, Weymouth approached the coast of Maine, and ascended the western branch of the Penobscot beyond Belfast Bay. Five natives were decoyed on board the ship, and Weymouth, returning to England, gave three of them to Sir Ferdinand Gorges, a friend of Raleigh, and governor of Plymouth.

Such were the voyages which led the way to the colonization of the United States. The daring and skill of these earliest adventurers upon the ocean de-

serve the highest admiration. The difficulties of crossing the Atlantic were new, and it required the greater courage to encounter hazards which ignorance exaggerated. The character of the prevalent winds and currents was unknown. The possibility of making a direct passage was but gradually discovered. The imagined dangers were infinite; the real dangers exceedingly great. The ships at first employed for discovery were generally of less than one hundred tons' burthen; Frobisher sailed in a vessel of but twenty-five tons; two of those of Columbus were without a deck; and so perilous were the voyages deemed, that the sailors were accustomed, before embarking, by solemn acts of devotion, to prepare for eternity. The anticipation of disasters was not visionary; Columbus was shipwrecked twice, and once remained for eight months on an island, without any communication with the civilized world; Hudson was turned adrift in a small boat by a crew whom suffering had rendered mutinous; Willoughby perished with cold; Roberval, Parmenius, Gilbert, — and how many others? — went down at sea; and such was the state of the art of navigation, that intrepidity and skill were unavailing against the elements without the favor of Heaven.

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## CHAPTER VI.

### COLONIZATION OF VIRGINIA.

THE period of success in planting colonies in Virginia had arrived; yet not till changes had occurred, affecting the character of European politics and society, and moulding the forms of colonization. The reformation had interrupted the harmony of religious opinion in the west of Europe; and differences in the church began to constitute the basis of political parties. Com-

mercial intercourse equally sustained a revolution. It had been conducted on the narrow seas and by land; it now launched out upon the broadest waters; and, after the East Indies had been reached by doubling the southern promontory of Africa, the great commerce of the world was performed upon the ocean. The art of printing had become known; and the press diffused intelligence and multiplied the facilities of instruction. The feudal institutions, which had been reared in the middle ages, were already undermined by the current of time and events, and, swaying from their base, threatened to fall. Productive industry had, on the one side, built up the fortunes and extended the influence of the active classes; while habits of indolence and of expense had impaired the estates and diminished the power of the nobility. These changes also produced corresponding results in the institutions which were to rise in America.

A revolution had equally occurred in the purposes for which voyages were undertaken. The hope of Columbus, as he sailed to the west, had been the discovery of a new passage to the East Indies. The passion for rapidly amassing gold soon became the prevailing motive. Next, the islands and countries near the equator were made the tropical gardens of the Europeans for the culture of such luxuries as the warmest regions only can produce. At last, the higher design was matured, not to plunder, nor to destroy, nor to enslave; but to found states, to plant permanent Christian colonies, to establish for the oppressed and the enterprising places of refuge and abode, with all the elements of independent national existence.

The condition of England favored adventure in America. In times of peace, gallant men, who had served under Elizabeth by sea and land, were willing to incur the hazards of "seeking a New World." The minds of many persons of intelligence, rank, and enterprise, were directed to Virginia; and Gosnold at last prevailed with Edward Maria Wingfield, a groveling



merchant of the West of England, Robert Hunt, a clergyman of modest worth, and John Smith, the adventurer of rare genius and undying fame, to consent to risk their lives and hopes of fortune in an expedition. For more than a year, this little company revolved the project of a plantation. At the same time, Sir Ferdinand Gorges was gathering information which filled him with the desire of becoming a proprietary of domains beyond the Atlantic; and he readily persuaded Sir John Popham, lord chief justice of England, to share his intentions. Nor had the assigns of Raleigh become indifferent to "western planting;" the most distinguished of them all, Richard Hakluyt, the historian of maritime enterprise, still counseled the establishment of a colony.

The king of England, too timid to be active, yet too vain to be indifferent, favored the design of enlarging his dominions. When, therefore, a company of men of business and men of rank, formed by the experience of Gosnold, the enthusiasm of Smith, the perseverance of Hakluyt, the hopes of profit and the extensive influence of Popham and Gorges, applied to James I. for leave "to deduce a colony into Virginia," the monarch, in April, 1606, promoted the noble work by readily issuing an ample patent.

By this first colonial charter, under which the English were planted in America, a belt of twelve degrees on the American coast, embracing the soil from Cape Fear to Halifax, excepting, perhaps, the little spot in Acadia then actually possessed by the French, was set apart to be colonized by two rival companies. Of these, the first was composed of noblemen, gentlemen, and merchants, in and about London; the second, of knights, gentlemen, and merchants, in the West. The London adventurers, who alone succeeded, had an exclusive right to occupy the regions from thirty-four to thirty-eight degrees of north latitude, that is, from Cape Fear to the southern limit of Maryland; the western men had equally an exclusive right to plant between forty-one and forty-five degrees. The intermediate district, from thirty-eight to

forty-one degrees, was open to both companies; yet, as each was to possess the soil extending fifty miles north and south of its first settlement, neither could plant within one hundred miles of a colony of its rival. The conditions of tenure were homage and rent; the rent was no other than one fifth of the net produce of gold and silver, and one fifteenth of copper. The right of coining money was conceded. The natives, it was hoped, would receive Christianity and the arts of civilized life. The superintendence of the whole was confided to a council in England; the local administration of each colony was intrusted to a council residing within its limits. The members of the superior council in England were appointed exclusively by the king; and the tenure of their office was his good pleasure. Over the colonial councils the king likewise preserved a control; for the members of them were from time to time to be ordained and removed, according to royal instructions. Supreme legislative authority, extending alike to the general condition and the most minute regulations of the colonies, was likewise expressly reserved to the monarch. A duty, to be levied on vessels trading to its harbors, was, for one-and-twenty years, to be wholly employed for the benefit of the plantation; at the end of that time, it was to be taken for the king. To the emigrants it was promised, that they and their children should continue to be Englishmen — a concession which secured them rights on returning to England, but offered no barrier against colonial injustice. Lands were to be held by the most favorable tenure.

Thus the first written charter of a permanent American colony, which was to be the chosen abode of liberty, gave to the mercantile corporation nothing but a desert territory, with the right of peopling and defending it, and reserved to the monarch absolute legislative authority, the control of all appointments, and a hope of a revenue. To the emigrants themselves it conceded not one elective franchise, not one of the rights of self-government. They were subjected to the ordinances of a



commercial corporation, of which they could not be members; to the dominion of a domestic council, in appointing which they had no voice; to the control of a superior council in England, which had no sympathies with their rights; and, finally, to the arbitrary legislation of the sovereign.

The summer was spent by the patentees in preparations for planting a colony, by the king in framing a code of laws. The superior council in England was permitted to name the colonial council, which had power to elect or remove its president, to remove any of its members, and to supply its own vacancies. Not an element of popular liberty was introduced into the form of government. Religion was specially enjoined to be established according to the doctrine and rites of the Church of England. Tumults and seditions were punishable by death. All civil causes, requiring corporal punishment, fine, or imprisonment, might be summarily determined by the president and council. Kindness to the savages was enjoined, with the use of all proper means for their conversion. It was further ordered, that the industry and commerce of the respective colonies should for five years, at least, be conducted in a joint stock.

Thus were the political forms of the colony established, when, on the nineteenth day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and six, one hundred and nine years after the discovery of the American continent by Cabot, forty-one years from the settlement of Florida, the little squadron of three vessels, the largest not exceeding one hundred tons' burthen, bearing one hundred and five men, destined to remain, set sail for a harbor in Virginia.

The voyage began under inauspicious omens. Of the one hundred and five, on the list of emigrants, there were but twelve laborers, and very few mechanics. They were going to a wilderness, in which, as yet, not a house was standing; and there were forty-eight gentlemen to four carpenters. Neither were there any men

with families. It was evident, a commercial, and not a colonial, establishment was designed by the projectors. Dissensions sprung up during the voyage; as the names and instructions of the council had, by the folly of James, been carefully concealed in a box, which was not to be opened till after the arrival in Virginia, no competent authority existed to check the progress of envy and disorder. The genius of Smith excited jealousy; and hope, the only power which can still the clamors and allay the feuds of the selfish, early deserted the colonists.

Newport, who commanded the ships, was acquainted with the old passage, and, consuming the whole of the early spring in a navigation which should have been completed in February, sailed by way of the Canaries and the West India Islands. As he turned to the north, in April, 1607, a severe storm carried his fleet beyond the settlement of Raleigh, into the magnificent Bay of the Chesapeake. The head lands received and retain the names of Cape Henry and Cape Charles, from the sons of King James; the deep water for anchorage, "putting the emigrants in good Comfort," gave a name to the Northern Point; and within the capes a country opened, which appeared to the emigrants to "claim the prerogative over the most pleasant places in the world." Hope revived for a season, as they advanced. "Heaven and earth seemed never to have agreed better to frame a place for man's commodious and delightful habitation." A noble river was soon entered, which was named from the monarch; and, after a search of seventeen days, during which they encountered the hostility of one little savage tribe, and at Hampton smoked the calumet of peace with another, on the thirteenth day of May, 1607, they moored their vessels to the trees on the peninsula of Jamestown, and, on the next day, began the foundation of a colony.

While the men were busy in felling timber, and providing freight for the ships, Smith, Newport, and twenty others, ascended the James River to the falls. They

visited the native chieftain Powhatán, who has been styled "the emperor of the country," at his principal seat, just below the present site of Richmond. The imperial residence was a village of twelve wigwams! The savages murmured at the intrusion of strangers into the country; but Powhatán disguised his fear, and would only say, "They hurt you not; they take but a little waste land."

About the middle of June, Newport set sail for England. What condition could be more pitiable than that of the English whom he had left in Virginia? The proud hopes which the beauty of the country had excited, vanished; and, as the delusion passed away, they awoke and beheld that they were in the wilderness. Weak in numbers, and still weaker from want of industry, they were exposed to the hostility and distrust of the natives; the summer heats were intolerable to their laborers; the moisture of the climate generated disease; and the fertility of the soil, covered with a rank luxuriance of forest, increased the toil of culture. Their scanty provisions had become spoiled on the long voyage. Despair of mind ensued; so that, in less than a fortnight after the departure of the fleet, "hardly ten of them were able to stand;" the labor of completing some simple fortifications was exhausting; and no regular crops could be planted. During the summer, there were not, on any occasion, five able men to guard the bulwarks; the fort was filled, in every corner, with the groans of the sick, whose outcries, night and day, for six weeks, rent the hearts of those who could minister no relief. Many times, three or four died in a night; in the morning, their bodies were trailed out of the cabins, like dogs, to be buried. Fifty men, one half of the colony, perished before autumn; among them, Bartholomew Gosnold, the projector of the settlement—a man of rare merits, worthy of a perpetual memory in the plantation, and whose influence had alone thus far preserved some degree of harmony in the council.

Disunion completed the scene of misery. It became

necessary to depose Wingfield, the avaricious president, who was charged with engrossing the choicest stores, and who was on the point of escaping to the West Indies. Ratcliffe, the new president, possessed neither judgment nor industry; so that the management of affairs fell into the hands of Smith, whose deliberate enterprise and cheerful courage alone diffused light amidst the general gloom. He possessed by nature the buoyant spirit of heroic daring. In boyhood, he had sighed for the opportunity of "setting out on brave adventures;" and, though not yet thirty years of age, he was already a veteran in the service of Christendom. In the Low Countries, he had fought for the independence of the Batavian republic. Again, as a traveller, he had roamed over France; had visited the shores of Egypt; had returned to Italy; and, panting for glory, had sought the borders of Hungary, where there had long existed an hereditary warfare with the followers of Mahomet. It was there that the young English Cavalier distinguished himself by the bravest feats of arms, in the sight of Christians and infidels. Overpowered in a sudden skirmish, among the glens of Wallachia, as a prisoner of war he had been offered for sale, "like a beast in a market place," and sent to Constantinople as a slave. Removed to a fortress in the Crimea, and there subjected to the harshest usage among half-savage serfs, he rose against his taskmaster, whom he slew in the struggle, and, mounting a horse, escaped through forest paths to the confines of Russia. Travelling across the country to Transylvania, and there bidding farewell to his companions in arms, he resolved to return "to his own sweet country." But, as he crossed the continent, he heard the rumors of civil war in Northern Africa, and hastened, in search of untried dangers, to the realms of Morocco. At length, returning to England, his mind did not so much share as appropriate to itself the general enthusiasm for planting states in America; and now the infant commonwealth of Virginia depended for its existence on his

firmness. His experience in human nature under all its forms, and the cheering vigor of his resolute will, made him equal to his duty. He inspired the natives with awe, and quelled rebellion among the emigrants. He was more wakeful to gather provisions than the covetous to find gold, and strove to keep the country more than the faint-hearted to abandon it. As autumn approached, the Indians, from the superiority of their harvest, made a voluntary offering; and supplies were also collected by expeditions into the interior. But the conspiracies that were still formed to desert the settlement, first by the selfish Wingfield, and again by the imbecile Ratcliffe, could be defeated only after a skirmish, in which one of the leaders was killed; and the danger of a precipitate abandonment of Virginia continued imminent, till the approach of winter not only made the homeward navigation perilous, but removed the fear of famine by the abundance of wild-fowl and game. Nothing then remained but to examine the country.

Leaving the colonists to enjoy the abundance which winter had brought, Smith not only ascended the Chickahominy as far as he could advance in boats, but struck into the interior. His companions disobeyed his instructions, and, being surprised by the Indians, were put to death. Smith himself preserved life by the calmness of self-possession. Displaying a pocket compass, he amused the savages by an explanation of its powers, and by imparting some vague conceptions of the form of the earth and the nature of the planetary system. He was allowed to send a letter to the fort of Jamestown; and wonder was increased; for he seemed, by some magic, to endow the paper with intelligence. To gratify the curiosity of all the neighborhood, he was conducted in triumph from the settlements on the Chickahominy to the Indian villages on the Rappahannock and the Potomac, and thence, through other towns, to the residence of Opechancanough, at Pamunkey. There, for the space of three days, they practised incantations and ceremonies, in the hope of obtaining some insight into the



mystery of his character and his designs. The decision of his fate was referred to Powhatán, who was then residing at a village in what is now Gloucester county, on York River; and his immediate death would have been inevitable, but for the timely intercession of Pocahontas, the daughter of Powhatán, a girl "of tenne" or "twelve" "years old, the nonpareil of the country," who clung firmly to his neck, as his head was bowed to receive the strokes of the tomahawk. The gentle feelings of humanity are the same in every race, and in every period of life; they bloom, though unconsciously, even in the bosom of a child. The fearlessness and the entreaties of the Indian maiden persuaded the council to spare the agreeable stranger, who might make hatchets for her father, and rattles and strings of beads for herself, the favorite child; and the barbarians dismissed their prisoner with mutual promises of friendship. Thus the captivity of Smith itself became a benefit to the colony; for he had not only observed with care the country between the James and the Potomac, and had gained some knowledge of the language and manners of the natives, but he had established a peaceful intercourse between the English and the tribes of Powhatán; and the child who had rescued him from death came, every few days, to the fort, with her "wild traine of" companions, bringing baskets of corn for the garrison.

Returning to Jamestown, Smith found the colony reduced to forty men; and of these the strongest were again preparing to escape with the pinnace. This third attempt at desertion he repressed at the hazard of his life. Thus passed the first few months of colonial existence, in discord and misery — despair relieved, and ruin prevented, by the fortitude of one man, and the benevolence of an Indian girl.

Meantime, the council in England, having received an increase of its numbers and its powers, determined to send out new recruits and supplies; and Newport had hardly returned from his first voyage, before he was again despatched with one hundred and twenty emi-

grants. Yet the joy in Virginia on their arrival was of short continuance; for the new comers were chiefly vagabond gentlemen and goldsmiths, who believed they had discovered grains of gold in a glittering earth which abounded near Jamestown; and "there was now no talk, no hope, no work, but dig gold, wash gold, refine gold, load gold." The refiners were enamored of their skill: Martin, one of the council, promised himself honors in England as the discoverer of a mine; and Newport, having made an unnecessary stay of fourteen weeks, and having, in defiance of the assurances of Powhatan, expected to find the Pacific just beyond the falls in James River, believed himself immeasurably rich, as he embarked for England with a freight of worthless earth.

Disgusted at the follies which he had vainly opposed, Smith undertook the perilous and honorable office of exploring the vast Bay of the Chesapeake, and the numerous rivers which are its tributaries. Two voyages, made in an open boat, with a few companions, over whom his superior courage, rather than his station as a magistrate, gave him authority, occupied him about three months of the summer, and embraced a navigation of nearly three thousand miles. The slenderness of his means has been contrasted with the dignity and utility of his discoveries; and his name has been placed in the highest rank with the distinguished men who have enlarged the bounds of geographical knowledge, and opened the way, by their investigations, for colonies and commerce. He surveyed the Bay of the Chesapeake to the Susquehannah, and left only the borders of that remote river to remain, for some years longer, the fabled dwelling-place of a giant progeny. He was the first to make known to the English the fame of the Mohawks, "who dwelt upon a great water, and had many boats and many men," and, as it seemed to the feebler Algonquin tribes, "made war upon all the world." In the Chesapeake Bay, he encountered a little fleet of their canoes. The Patapsco was discovered and explored, and



Smith probably entered the harbor of Baltimore. The majestic Potomac, which, at its mouth, is seven miles broad, especially invited curiosity; and, passing beyond the heights of Vernon and the city of Washington, he ascended to the falls above Georgetown. Nor did he merely explore the rivers and inlets. He penetrated the territories, established friendly relations with the native tribes, and laid the foundation for future beneficial intercourse. The map which he prepared, and sent to the company in London, is still extant, and delineates correctly the great outline of nature. The expedition was worthy the romantic age of American history.

Three days after his return, Smith was made president of the council. Order and industry began to be diffused by his energetic administration, when Newport, with a second supply, entered the river. About seventy new emigrants arrived; two of them, it merits notice, were females. The angry covetousness of a greedy but disappointed corporation was now fully displayed. As if their command could transmute minerals, narrow the continent, and awaken the dead, they demanded a lump of gold, or a certain passage to the South Sea, or, a feigned humanity added, one of the lost company sent by Sir Walter Raleigh. The charge of the voyage was two thousand pounds: unless the ships should return full freighted with commodities, corresponding in value to the costs of the adventure, the colonists were threatened that "they should be left in Virginia as banished men." Neither had experience taught the company to engage suitable persons for Virginia. "When you send again," Smith was obliged to write, "I entreat you rather send but thirty carpenters, husbandmen, gardeners, fishermen, blacksmiths, masons, and diggers up of trees' roots, well provided, than a thousand of such as we have."

After the departure of the ships, in 1609, Smith employed his authority to enforce industry. Six hours in the day were spent in work; the rest might be given to pastime. The gentlemen had been taught the use of the

axe, and had become accomplished woodcutters. "He who would not work, might not eat;" and Jamestown assumed the appearance of a regular place of abode. Yet so little land had been cultivated — not more than thirty or forty acres in all — that it was still necessary for Englishmen to solicit food from the indolent Indians; and Europeans, to preserve themselves from starving, were billeted among the sons of the forest. Thus the season passed away: of two hundred in the colony, not more than seven died.

The golden anticipations of the London company had not been realized. But the cause of failure appeared in the policy which had grasped at sudden emoluments; and more vast and honorable plans were conceived, which were to be effected by more numerous and opulent associates. At the request of the corporation, which was become a very powerful body, without any regard to the rights or wishes of those who had already emigrated under the sanction of existing laws, the constitution of Virginia was radically changed.

The new charter transferred to the company the powers which had before been reserved to the king. The supreme council in England was now to be chosen by the stockholders themselves; and the lives, liberty, and fortune, of the colonists were placed at the arbitrary will of a governor who was to be appointed by a commercial corporation. As yet not one valuable civil privilege was conceded to the emigrants.

Splendid as were the auspices of the new charter, unlimited as were the powers of the patentees, the next events in the colony were still more disastrous.

Lord De La Ware, distinguished for his virtues, as well as rank, received the appointment of governor and captain-general for life. The condition of the public mind favored colonization; swarms of people desired to be transported; and the widely-diffused enthusiasm soon enabled the company to despatch a fleet of nine vessels, containing more than five hundred emigrants. The admiral of the fleet was Newport, who, with Sir Thomas

Gates and Sir George Somers, was authorized to administer the affairs of the colony till the arrival of Delaware.

The three commissioners had embarked on board the same ship. When near the coast of Virginia, a hurricane separated the admiral from the rest of his fleet; and his vessel was stranded on the rocks of the Bermudas. A small ketch perished; and seven ships only arrived in Virginia.

A new dilemma ensued. The old charter was abrogated; and, as there was in the settlement no one who had any authority from the new patentees, anarchy seemed at hand. The emigrants of the last arrival were "dissolute gallants, packed off to escape worse destinies at home, broken tradesmen, gentlemen impoverished in spirit and fortune, rakes and libertines, men more fitted to corrupt than to found a commonwealth." It was not the will of God that the new state should be formed of these materials. Hopeless as the determination appeared, Smith resolutely maintained his authority over the unruly herd, and devised new expeditions and new settlements, to furnish them occupation and support. At last, an accidental explosion of gunpowder disabled him, by inflicting wounds which the surgical skill of Virginia could not relieve. Delegating his authority to Percy, he embarked for England. Extreme suffering from his wounds, and the ingratitude of his employers, were the fruits of his services. He, the Father of Virginia, the true leader who first planted the Saxon race within the borders of the United States, received no reward but the applause of his conscience and the world. Uniting the highest spirit of adventure with consummate powers of action, his courage and self-possession accomplished what others esteemed desperate. Fruitful in expedients, he was prompt in execution. Harassed by the persecutions of malignant envy, he never revived the memory of the faults of his enemies. There was nothing counterfeit in his nature. He clearly discerned, that it was the true interest of

England not to seek in Virginia for gold and sudden wealth, but to establish regular industry. "Nothing," said he, "is to be expected thence, but by labor."

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## CHAPTER VII.

### THE VIRGINIANS ACQUIRE HOMES.

THE colonists, no longer controlled by an acknowledged authority, were soon abandoned to improvident idleness. Their ample stock of provisions was rapidly consumed; and further supplies were refused by the Indians, who regarded the English with a fatal contempt. Stragglers from the town were cut off; parties, which begged food in the Indian cabins, were deliberately murdered; and plans were laid to starve and destroy the whole company. The horrors of famine ensued; while a band of about thirty, seizing a ship, escaped to become pirates, and to plead desperate necessity as an excuse for crimes. Smith, at his departure, had left more than four hundred and ninety persons in the colony; in six months, indolence, vice, and famine, reduced the number to sixty; and these were so feeble and dejected, that, if relief had been delayed but ten days longer, they also must have utterly perished.

Sir Thomas Gates and the passengers, whose ship had been wrecked on the rocks of the Bermudas, had reached the shore without the loss of a life. The liberal fertility of the uninhabited island for nine months sustained them in affluence. From the cedars which they felled, and the wrecks of their old ship, they constructed two vessels, in which they embarked for Virginia. How great, then, was their horror, as they came among the scenes of death and famine! Four pinnaces remained in the river; nor could the extremity of distress listen

to any other course, than to sail for Newfoundland, and seek safety by dispersing the company among the ships of English fishermen. The colonists — such is human nature — desired to burn the town in which they had been so wretched; and the exercise of their infantile vengeance was prevented only by the energy of Gates, who was himself the last to desert the settlement. “None dropped a tear, for none had enjoyed one day of happiness.” They fell down the stream with the tide; but, the next morning, as they drew near the mouth of the river, they encountered the long-boat of Lord Delaware, who had arrived on the coast with emigrants and supplies. The fugitives bore up the helm, and, favored by the wind, were that night once more at Jamestown.

It was on the tenth day of June, 1610, that the restoration of the colony was solemnly begun by supplications to God. The firmness of their resolution repelled despair. “It was the arm of the Lord of Hosts, who would have his people pass the Red Sea and the wilderness, and then possess the land of Canaan.” Dangers avoided inspire trust in Providence. “Doubt not,” said the emigrants to the people of England, “God will raise our state and build his church in this excellent clime.” After solemn exercises of religion, Lord Delaware caused his commission to be read; and the government was organized with mildness, but decision. The evils of faction were healed by the unity of the administration and the virtues of the governor; and the colonists, excited by mutual emulation, performed their tasks with alacrity. At the beginning of the day, they assembled in the little church, which was kept neatly trimmed with the wild flowers of the country; next, they returned to their houses to receive their allowance of food. The settled hours of labor were from six in the morning till ten, and from two in the afternoon till four. The houses were warm and secure, covered above with strong boards, and matted on the inside after the fashion of the Indian wigwams. Security and affluence were



returning. But the health of Lord Delaware sunk under the cares of his situation and the diseases of the climate; and, after a lingering sickness, he was compelled to leave the administration with Percy, and return to England. The colony, at this time, consisted of about two hundred men; but the departure of the governor produced despondency at Jamestown; in England, "the plantation underwent the reproofs of the base world; the scum and dregs of the earth mocked such as helped to build up the walls of that Jerusalem."

Fortunately, in 1611, the adventurers, before the ill success of Lord Delaware was known, had despatched Sir Thomas Dale, "a worthy and experienced soldier in the Low Countries," with liberal supplies. He arrived safely in the colony, and assumed the government, which he soon afterwards administered upon the basis of martial law. The code, written in blood, and printed and sent to Virginia by the treasurer, Sir Thomas Smith, without the order of the company, was chiefly a translation from the rules of war of the United Provinces. The Episcopal church, coeval in Virginia with the settlement of Jamestown, was, like the infant commonwealth, subjected to military rule; and courts-martial had authority to punish indifference with stripes, infidelity with death. The introduction of this arbitrary system excited no indignation in the colonists, who had never obtained any franchises, and no surprise in the adventurers in England, who regarded the Virginians but as the garrison of a distant citadel.

The letters of Dale to the council confessed the small number and weakness of the colonists, but kindled hope in the hearts of these adventurers. "If any thing otherwise than well betide me," said he, "let me commend unto your carefulness the pursuit and dignity of this business, than which your purses and endeavors will never open nor travel in a more meritorious enterprise. Take four of the best kingdoms in Christendom, and put them all together, they may no way compare with this country, either for commodities or goodness



of soil." Lord Delaware and Sir Thomas Gates earnestly confirmed what Dale had written, and, without any delay, Gates, who has the honor, to all posterity, of being the first named in the original patent for Virginia, conducted to the New World six ships, with three hundred emigrants. A wise liberality sent also a hundred kine, as well as suitable provisions.

In May, Dale had written from Virginia, and the last of August, the new recruits were already at Jamestown. Gates assumed the government amidst the thanksgivings of the colony. "Lord bless England, our sweet native country," was the morning and evening prayer of the grateful emigrants. The colony now numbered seven hundred men; Dale, with the consent of Gates, went far up the river to found the new plantation, which, in honor of Prince Henry, a general favorite with the English people, was named Henrico; and there, on the remote frontier, Alexander Whitaker, the self-denying "apostle of Virginia," assisted in "bearing the name of God to the gentiles." But the greatest change in the condition of the colonists resulted from the incipient establishment of private property. To each man a few acres of ground were assigned for his orchard and garden, to plant at his pleasure and for his own use. The sanctity of private property was recognized as the surest guaranty of order and abundance. Yet the rights of the Indians were little respected; nor did the English disdain to appropriate, by conquest, the soil, the cabins, and the granaries, of the tribe of the Appomattocks.

While the colony was advancing in strength and happiness, the third patent for Virginia granted to the adventurers in England the Bermudas and all islands within three hundred leagues of the Virginia shore — a concession of no ultimate importance in American history, since the new acquisitions were soon transferred to a separate company. At the same time, it was ordered that weekly or even more frequent meetings of the whole company might be convened for the transaction of affairs of less weight; while all questions respecting

government, commerce, and the disposition of lands, should be reserved for the four great and general courts, at which all officers were to be elected, and all laws established. Thus power was transferred from the council to the company, and its sessions became the theatre of bold and independent discussion. Lotteries, too, were authorized for the benefit of the colony; and they produced to the company twenty-nine thousand pounds.

While the new charter enlarged the powers of the company, the progress of the colony confirmed its stability. Tribes, even, of the Indians submitted to the English, and, by a formal treaty, declared themselves the tributaries of King James. A marriage was the immediate cause of this change of relations.

A foraging party of the colonists, headed by Argall, having stolen the daughter of Powhatan, demanded of her father a ransom. The indignant chief prepared rather for hostilities. But John Rolfe, "an honest and discreet" young Englishman, an amiable enthusiast, who had emigrated to the forests of Virginia, daily, hourly, and, as it were, in his very sleep, heard a voice crying in his ears, that he should strive to make her a Christian. After a great struggle of mind, and daily and believing prayers, in the innocence of pious zeal, he resolved "to labor for the conversion of the unregenerated maiden;" and, winning the favor of Pocahontas, he desired her in marriage. Quick of comprehension, the youthful princess received instruction with docility; and, in the little church of Jamestown,—which rested on rough pine columns, fresh from the forest, and was in a style of rugged architecture as wild, if not as frail, as an Indian's wigwam,—she stood before the font, that, out of the trunk of a tree, "had been hewn hollow like a canoe," "openly renounced her country's idolatry, professed the faith of Jesus Christ, and was baptized." "The gaining of this one soul," "the first fruits of Virginian conversion," was followed by her nuptials with Rolfe. In April, 1613, to the joy

of Sir Thomas Dale, with the approbation of her father and friends, Opachisco, her uncle, gave the bride away; and she stammered before the altar her marriage vows, according to the rites of the English service.

Every historian of Virginia commemorates the union with approbation; distinguished men trace from it their descent. In 1616, the Indian wife, instructed in the English language, and bearing an English name, "the first Christian ever of her nation," sailed with her husband for England. The daughter of the wilderness possessed the mild elements of female loveliness, half concealed, as if in the bud, and rendered the more beautiful by the childlike simplicity with which her education in the savannas of the New World had invested her. How could she fail to be caressed at court, and admired in the city? As a wife, and as a young mother, her conduct was exemplary. She had been able to contrast the magnificence of European life with the freedom of the western forests; and now, as she was preparing to return to America, at the age of twenty-two, she fell a victim to the English climate,—saved, as if by the hand of Mercy, from beholding the extermination of the tribes from which she sprung, leaving a spotless name, and dwelling in memory under the form of perpetual youth.

The immediate fruits of the marriage to the colony were a confirmed peace, not with Powhatan alone, but also with the powerful Chickahominies, who sought the friendship of the English, and demanded to be called Englishmen. It might have seemed that the European and the native races were about to become blended; yet the English and the Indians remained at variance, and the weakest gradually disappeared.

The colony seemed firmly established; and its governor asserted for the English the sole right of colonizing the coast to the latitude of forty-five degrees. In 1613, sailing in an armed vessel, as a protector to the fishermen off the coast of Maine, Samuel Argall, a young sea-captain, of arbitrary temper, discovered that the French

were planting a colony near the Penobscot, on Mount Desert Isle; and, hastening to the spot, he gained possession of the infant hamlet of St. Sauveur. The cross round which the faithful had gathered, was thrown down; and the cottages and the ship in the harbor were abandoned to pillage.

The news of French encroachments roused the jealousy of Virginia. Immediately Argall sailed once more to the north, threw down the fortifications of De Monts on the Isle of St. Croix, and set on fire the deserted settlement of Port Royal. Thus did England vindicate her claim to Maine and Acadia.

Returning from Acadia, Argall entered the port of New York, to assert the sovereignty of England; but there is no room to believe he ascended the Hudson.

Meantime, the people of England exulted in the anticipated glories of the rising state in Virginia. The theatre rung with its praise; and Shakspeare, whose friend, the "popular" earl of Southampton, was a leader in the Virginia company, echoed the general enthusiasm.

In March, 1614, Sir Thomas Gates, embarking for England, where he might infuse new courage into the London company, left the government with Sir Thomas Dale. During the administration of Dale, the laws of Virginia, though imperfect and unequal, gave the cultivator the opportunity of becoming a proprietor of the soil; and private industry, directed to the culture of a valuable staple, enriched Virginia. It was found that tobacco might be profitably cultivated; and at once the fields, the gardens, the public squares, and even the streets of Jamestown, were planted with it; and the colonists dispersed, unmindful of security in their eagerness for gain. Tobacco became the staple and the currency of the colony.

When, in 1616, after a residence of five years in the colony, Sir Thomas Dale, who has gained praise for vigor and judgment, returned to his native country, imbibed parties contended for the posts of emolument and honor; and, in the next year, the influence of a

faction conferred the office of deputy-governor on Argall. Martial law was at that time the common law of the country: that the despotism of the new deputy, who was both self-willed and avaricious, might be complete, he was further invested with the place of admiral of the country and the adjoining seas.

The return of Lord Delaware to America might have restored tranquillity; the health of that nobleman was not equal to the voyage; and he never again reached Virginia. The tyranny of Argall was, therefore, left unrestrained; but his indiscriminate rapacity and vices were destined to defeat themselves, and procure for the colony an inestimable benefit; for they led him to defraud the company as well as to oppress the colonists. The condition of Virginia became intolerable; the labor of the settlers was perverted to the benefit of the governor; servitude, for a limited period, was the common penalty annexed to trifling offences; and, in a colony where martial law still continued in force, life itself was insecure against his capricious passions. The first appeal ever made from America to England, directed, not to the king, but to the company, was in behalf of one whom Argall had wantonly condemned to death, and whom he had with great difficulty been prevailed upon to spare. The colony was fast falling into disrepute, and the report of the tyranny established beyond the Atlantic checked emigration. A reformation was demanded, and was conceded, with guaranties for the future; because the interests of the colonists and the company coincided in requiring a redress of their common wrongs. After a strenuous contest on the part of rival factions for the control of the company, the influence of Sir Edwin Sandys prevailed; Argall was displaced, and, in 1619, the mild and popular Yeardley was appointed captain-general of the colony.

The administration of Yeardley began with acts of benevolence. The ancient planters were fully released from all further service to the colony, and were confirmed in the possession of their estates, both personal and real, as amply as the subjects of England. The



burdens imposed by his predecessor were removed, and martial law gradually disappeared. But these were not the only benefits conferred through Yeardley; his administration marks an era in the progress of American liberty; the colonists themselves were received to a share in legislation. In June, 1619, the first colonial assembly that ever met in Virginia was convened at Jamestown. The governor, the newly-appointed council, and two representatives from each of the eleven boroughs, — hence called burgesses, — constituted the first popular representative body of the western hemisphere. All matters were debated which were thought expedient for the good of the colony; former griefs were buried in oblivion; and the representatives of the colony expressed their “greatest possible thanks” for the care of the company in settling the plantation.

The patriot party in England, now possessed of the control of the London company, engaged with earnestness in schemes to advance the population and establish the liberties of Virginia. At the accession of Sir Edwin Sandys to the office of treasurer, after twelve years' labor, and an expenditure of eighty thousand pounds by the company, there were in the colony no more than six hundred persons, men, women, and children; and now, in one year, he provided a passage to Virginia for twelve hundred and sixty-one persons. Nor must the character of the emigration be overlooked. “The people of Virginia had not been settled in their minds;” and as, before the recent changes, they had gone there with the design of ultimately returning to England, it was necessary to multiply attachments to the soil. Few women had as yet dared to cross the Atlantic; but, in 1619, the promise of prosperity induced ninety agreeable persons, young and incorrupt, to listen to the wishes of the company, and the benevolent advice of Sandys, and to embark for the colony, where they were assured of a welcome. They were transported at the expense of the corporation, and were married to the tenants of the company, or to men who were well able to support them, and who willingly defrayed the costs of their pas-



sage, which were rigorously demanded. The adventure, which had been in part a mercantile speculation, succeeded so well, that it was designed to send the next year another consignment of one hundred; but, before these could be collected, the company found itself so poor, that its design could be accomplished only by a subscription. After some delays, sixty were actually despatched, maids of virtuous education, young, handsome, and well recommended. The price rose from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco, or even more, so that all the original charges might be repaid. The debt for a wife was a debt of honor, and took precedence of any other; and the company, in conferring employments, gave a preference to the married men. Domestic ties were formed; virtuous sentiments and habits of thrift ensued; the tide of emigration swelled; within three years, fifty patents for land were granted, and three thousand five hundred persons found their way to Virginia, which was a refuge even for Puritans.

The deliberate and formal concession of legislative liberties was an act of the deepest interest. When Sandys, after a year's service, resigned his office as treasurer, a struggle ensued on the election of his successor; and, against the nomination of King James, the choice of the crowded meeting fell upon the earl of Southampton. Having thus vindicated their own rights, the company proceeded to endow colonial liberty with written guaranties.

On an appeal to the London company from a sentence of death pronounced by Argall, the friends of that officer had assembled, with the earl of Warwick at their head, and had voted that trial by martial law is the noblest kind of trial, because soldiers and men of the sword were the judges. This opinion was now reversed, and the right of the colonists to trial by jury asserted.

The colonial assembly, which had been convened by Sir George Yeardley, though silently approved, had never been expressly sanctioned. On the twenty-fourth

day of July, 1621, a memorable ordinance established for the colony a written constitution. The form of government prescribed for Virginia was analogous to the English constitution, and was, with some modifications, the model of the systems which were afterwards introduced into the various royal provinces. Its purpose was declared to be "the greatest comfort and benefit to the people, and the prevention of injustice, grievances, and oppression." Its terms are few and simple; — a governor, to be appointed by the company; a permanent council, likewise to be appointed by the company; a general assembly, to be convened yearly, and to consist of the members of the council, and of two burgesses to be chosen from each of the several plantations by their respective inhabitants. The assembly might exercise full legislative authority, a negative voice being reserved to the governor; but no law or ordinance would be valid, unless ratified by the company in England. After the government of the colony should have once been framed, no orders of the court in London could bind the colony, unless ratified by the general assembly. The courts of justice were required to conform to the laws and manner of trial used in the realm of England.

Such was the constitution which Sir Francis Wyatt, the successor of the mild but inefficient Yeardley, was commissioned to bear to the colony. Henceforward, the supreme power was held to reside in the hands of the colonial parliament, and of the king, as king of Virginia. The privileges now conceded could never be wrested from the Virginians; and, as new colonies arose at the south, their proprietaries could hope to win emigrants only by bestowing franchises as large as those enjoyed by their elder rival. The London company was the pioneer of liberty in America; and it reflects glory on the earl of Southampton, Sir Edwin Sandys, and the patriot party of England, who, unable to establish guaranties of a liberal administration at home, were careful to connect popular freedom so intimately with the life, prosperity, and state of society, of Virginia, that they never could be separated.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## SLAVERY. DISSOLUTION OF THE LONDON COMPANY.

WHILE Virginia, by the concession of a representative government, was constituted the asylum of liberty, it also became the abode of hereditary bondsmen.

At the epoch of the discovery of America, the moral opinion of the civilized world had abolished the traffic in Christian slaves, and was fast demanding the emancipation of the serfs; but bigotry had favored a compromise with avarice; and the infidel was not yet included within the pale of humanity.

Yet negro slavery is not an invention of the white man. As Greeks enslaved Greeks, as the Hebrew often consented to make the Hebrew his absolute lord, as Anglo-Saxons trafficked in Anglo-Saxons, so the negro race enslaved its own brethren. The oldest accounts of the land of the negroes, like the glimmering traditions of Egypt and Phœnicia, of Greece and of Rome, bear witness to the existence of domestic slavery and caravans of dealers in negro slaves. The oldest Greek historian commemorates the traffic. Negro slaves were seen in classic Greece, and were known at Rome and in the Roman empire. From about the year 990, regular accounts of the negro slave trade exist. Long before the genius of Columbus had opened the path to a new world, the negro slave trade had been reduced to a system by the Moors, and had spread from the native regions of the Ethiopian race to the heart of Egypt on the one hand, and to the coasts of Barbary on the other.

But the danger for America did not end here. The traffic of Europeans in negro slaves was fully established before the colonization of the United States, and had existed a half century before the discovery of America.

The Portuguese ships which, in 1441, sailed so far south as Cape Blanco, returned, not with negroes, but

with Moors. Antony Gonzalez, who had brought them to Portugal, was commanded to restore them to their ancient homes. He did so; and the Moors gave him as their ransom, not gold only, but "black Moors" with curled hair. Thus, in 1443. negro slaves came into Europe. New ships were despatched without delay. Spain also engaged in the traffic; and negro slavery was established in Andalusia, and "abounded in the city of Seville," before the enterprise of Columbus was conceived.

The maritime adventurers of those days, joining the principles of bigots with the bold designs of pirates and heroes, esteemed the wealth of the countries which they might discover as their rightful plunder, and the inhabitants, if Christians, as their subjects, — if infidels, as their slaves. Even Indians of Hispaniola were imported into Spain. Cargoes of the natives of the north were early and repeatedly kidnapped. The glory of Columbus himself did not escape the stain; enslaving five hundred native Americans, he sent them to Spain, that they might be publicly sold at Seville. The commissions for making discoveries reserved for Isabella and Ferdinand a fourth part of the slaves which the new kingdoms might contain. The slavery of Indians was recognized as lawful.

The practice of selling the natives of North America into foreign bondage continued for nearly two centuries; and even the sternest morality pronounced the sentence of slavery and exile on the captives whom the field of battle had spared.

It was not Las Casas who first suggested the plan of transporting African slaves to Hispaniola; Spanish slaveholders, as they emigrated, were accompanied by their negroes; and, in 1501, the royal ordinances of Spain authorized negro slavery in America. Within two years, there were such numbers of Africans in Hispaniola, that Ovando, the governor of the island, entreated that the importation might no longer be permitted. But the culture of sugar was successfully be-

gun: it was said, too, that one negro could do the work of four Indians in the mines; and the direct traffic in slaves between Guinea and Hispaniola was, in 1511, enjoined by a royal ordinance, and deliberately sanctioned by repeated decrees. Was it not natural that Charles V., a youthful monarch, surrounded by rapacious courtiers, should readily grant licenses to the Flemings to transport negroes to the colonies? The benevolent Las Casas, — who had seen the native inhabitants of the New World vanish away, like dew, before the cruelties of the Spaniards, who felt for the Indians all that an ardent charity and the purest missionary zeal could inspire, and who had seen the African thriving in robust health under the sun of Hispaniola, — returning from America to plead the cause of the feeble Indians, in 1517, — the year which saw the dawn of the reformation in Germany, — suggested the expedient, that negroes might still further be employed to perform the severe toils which they alone could endure. The avarice of the Flemings greedily seized on the expedient; the board of trade at Seville was consulted, to learn how many slaves would be required. It had been proposed to allow four for each Spanish emigrant; deliberate calculation fixed the number esteemed necessary at four thousand. The very year in which Charles V. sailed with a powerful expedition against Tunis, to check the piracies of the Barbary states, and to emancipate Christian slaves in Africa, he gave an open legal sanction to the African slave trade. The sins of the Moors were to be revenged on the negroes; and the monopoly, for eight years, of annually importing four thousand slaves into the West Indies, was eagerly seized by La Bresa, a favorite of the Spanish monarch, and was sold to the Genoese, who purchased their cargoes of Portugal. Reason, policy, and religion, alike condemned the traffic. The spirit of the Roman church was against it. Even Leo X. declared, that “not the Christian religion only, but Nature herself, cries out against the state of slavery;” and Paul III., in two sep-



arate briefs, imprecated a curse on the Europeans who should enslave Indians or any other class of men. The legislation of independent America has been emphatic in denouncing the hasty avarice which entailed the anomaly of negro slavery in the midst of liberty.

The odious distinction of having first interested England in the slave trade, belongs to Sir John Hawkins. In 1562, he had fraudulently transported a large cargo of Africans to Hispaniola: the rich returns of sugar, ginger, and pearls, attracted the notice of Queen Elizabeth; and, when a new expedition was prepared, in 1567, she was induced not only to protect, but to share the traffic. Yet the commerce, on the part of the English, in the Spanish ports, was by the laws of Spain illicit, as well as by the laws of morals detestable; and when the sovereign of England participated in its hazards, its profits, and its crimes, she became at once a smuggler and a slave merchant.

Conditional servitude, under indentures or covenants, had from the first existed in Virginia. The servant stood to his master in the relation of a debtor, bound to discharge the costs of emigration by the entire employment of his powers for the benefit of his creditor. Oppression early ensued: men who had been transported into Virginia at an expense of eight or ten pounds, were sometimes sold for forty, fifty, or even threescore pounds. The furnishing of white servants became a regular business; and a class of men, nicknamed *spirits*, used to delude young persons, servants, and idlers, into embarking for America, as to a land of spontaneous plenty. White servants came to be a usual article of traffic. They were sold in England to be transported, and in Virginia were resold to the highest bidder; like negroes, they were to be purchased on shipboard, as men buy horses at a fair.

The condition of apprenticed servants in Virginia differed from that of slaves chiefly in the duration of their bondage; and the laws of the colony favored their early enfranchisement. But this state of labor easily



admitted the introduction of perpetual servitude. The commerce of Virginia had been at first monopolized by the company; but as its management for the benefit of the corporation led to frequent dissensions, it was, in 1620, laid open to free competition. In the month of August of that year,—more than a century after the last vestiges of hereditary slavery had disappeared from English society and the English constitution, and six years after the commons of France had petitioned for the emancipation of every serf in every fief,—a Dutch man-of-war entered James River, and landed twenty negroes for sale. This is, indeed, the sad epoch of the introduction of negro slavery into the English colonies; but the traffic would have been checked in its infancy, had its profits remained with the Dutch. Thirty years after this first importation of Africans, the increase had been so inconsiderable, that to one black, Virginia contained fifty whites; and, at a later period, after seventy years of its colonial existence, the number of its negro slaves was proportionably much less than in several of the free states at the time of the war of independence. Had no other form of servitude been known in Virginia, than such as had been tolerated in Europe, every difficulty would have been promptly obviated by the benevolent spirit of colonial legislation. But a new problem in the history of man was now to be solved. For the first time, the Ethiopian and Caucasian races were to meet together in nearly equal numbers beneath a temperate zone. Who could foretell the issue?

Wyatt found the evil of negro slavery already engrafted on the social system, when, in 1621, he arrived in Virginia with the memorable ordinance on which the fabric of colonial liberty was to rest. Justice was established on the basis of the laws of England, and an amnesty of ancient feuds proclaimed. As Puritanism had appeared in Virginia, “needless novelties” in the forms of worship were prohibited. The order to search for minerals betrays the lingering hope of finding gold; while the injunction to promote certain manufactures

was ineffectual, because labor could otherwise be more profitably employed.

The business of the first session under the written constitution, held in November and December, 1621, related chiefly to domestic industry; and the culture of silk engaged the attention of the assembly. But silkworms could not be cared for where every comfort of household existence required to be created. Vine-dressers had also been set to work under the terrors of martial law; and the toil was equally in vain. In a new country under the temperate zone, corn and cattle will be raised, rather than silk or wine.

The first culture of cotton in the United States deserves commemoration. This year the seeds were planted as an experiment; and their "plentiful coming up" was, at that early day, a subject of interest in America and England.

Nor did the benevolence of the company neglect to establish places of education, and provide for the support of religious worship. The bishop of London collected and paid a thousand pounds towards a university, which, like the several churches of the colony, was liberally endowed with domains.

Between the Indians and the English there had been quarrels, but no wars. From the first landing of colonists in Virginia, the power of the natives was despised; their strongest weapons were such arrows as they could shape without iron, such hatchets as could be made from stone; and an English mastiff was to them a terrible adversary. Nor were their numbers considerable. The whole territory of the clans which listened to Powhatan as their leader or their conqueror, comprehended about eight thousand square miles, thirty clans, and hardly twenty-four hundred warriors; so that, in a region most favorable to Indian life, the population amounted to less than one inhabitant to a square mile. The natives, naked and feeble compared with the Europeans, were no where concentrated in considerable villages, but dwelt dispersed in hamlets, with from forty to sixty

in each company. Few places had more than two hundred; and many had less. It was also unusual for any large portion of these tribes to be assembled together. The tale of an ambuscade of three or four thousand is perhaps an error for three or four hundred, or is an extravagant fiction. Smith once met a party that seemed to amount to seven hundred; and, so complete was the superiority conferred by the use of fire-arms, that with fifteen men he was able to withstand them all. The savages were therefore regarded with contempt or compassion. No uniform care had been taken to conciliate their good will; although their condition had been improved by some of the arts of civilized life. When Wyatt arrived, the natives expressed a fear lest his intentions should be hostile: he assured them of his wish to preserve inviolable peace; and the emigrants had no use for fire-arms, except against a deer or a fowl. The old law, which made death the penalty for teaching the Indians to use a musket, was forgotten; and they were employed as fowlers and huntsmen. The plantations of the English were extended, in unsuspecting confidence, along the James River, and towards the Potomac, wherever rich grounds invited to the culture of tobacco.

Powhatan, the father of Pocahontas, remained, after the marriage of his daughter, the firm friend of the English. He died in 1618; and his younger brother was heir to his influence. The desire of self-preservation, the necessity of self-defence, seemed to demand an active resistance: to preserve their dwelling-places, the natives must exterminate the English; and, powerless in open battle, timid, and therefore treacherous, they could not hope to accomplish their end, except by surprise. The attack was prepared with impenetrable secrecy. To the very last hour the Indians preserved the language of friendship; they borrowed the boats of the English to attend their own assemblies, and, on the morning of the massacre, were in the houses and at the tables of those whose death they were plotting.

"Sooner," said they, "shall the sky fall, than peace be violated on our part." At length, on the twenty-second of March, 1622, at mid-day, at one and the same instant of time, the Indians fell upon an unsuspecting population, which was scattered through distant villages, extending one hundred and forty miles, on both sides of the river. The onset was so sudden, that the blow was not discerned till it fell. None were spared: children and women, as well as men; the missionary, who had cherished the natives with untiring gentleness; the liberal benefactors, from whom they had received daily kindnesses, — all were murdered with indiscriminate barbarity, and every aggravation of cruelty. The savages fell upon the dead bodies, as if it had been possible to commit on them a fresh murder.

In one hour, three hundred and forty-seven persons were cut off. Yet the carnage was not universal; and Virginia was saved from so disastrous a grave. The night before the execution of the conspiracy, it was revealed by a converted Indian to an Englishman whom he wished to rescue; Jamestown and the nearest settlements were well prepared against an attack; and the savages fled precipitately from the appearance of wakeful resistance. Thus the larger part of the colony was saved. A year after the massacre, there still remained two thousand five hundred men; the total number of the emigrants had exceeded four thousand. The immediate consequences of this massacre were disastrous. Public works were abandoned; and the settlements were reduced from eighty plantations to less than eight. Sickiness prevailed among the dispirited colonists, now crowded into narrow quarters; some returned to England. But plans of industry were eventually succeeded by schemes of revenge; and a war of extermination ensued. There were in the colony much loss and much sorrow, but never any serious apprehensions of discomfiture from the Indians. The midnight surprise, the ambuscade by day, might be feared; the Indians promptly fled on the least indications of watchfulness and

resistance. There were not wanting advocates for the entire subjection of those whom lenity could not win; and the example of Spanish cruelties was cited with applause. Besides, a natural instinct had led the Indians to select for their villages the pleasantest places, along the purest streams, and near the soil that was most easily cultivated. Their rights of property were no longer much respected; their open fields and villages were now appropriated by the colonists, who could plead the laws of war in defence of their covetousness. In July, 1623, the inhabitants of the several settlements, in parties, under commissioned officers, fell upon the adjoining savages; and a law of the general assembly commanded, that in the next summer the attack should be repeated. Even six years later, it was sternly enacted, that no peace should be concluded with the Indians.

Meantime, a change was preparing in the relations of the colony with the parent state. The Virginia colony had been unsuccessful. A settlement had been made; but only after a vast expenditure of money, and a great sacrifice of human life. Angry factions distract unsuccessful institutions; and the London company was now rent by two parties, which were growing more and more embittered. The contests were not so much the wranglings of disappointed merchants, as the struggle of political leaders. The meetings of the company, which now consisted of a thousand adventurers, of whom two hundred or more usually appeared at the quarter courts, were the scenes where the patriots, who in parliament advocated the cause of liberty, triumphantly opposed the decrees of the privy council on subjects connected with the rights of Virginia. The unsuccessful party could hope for success only by establishing the supremacy of the royal prerogative; and the monarch, dissatisfied at having intrusted to others the control of the colony, desired to recover the influence of which he was deprived by a charter of his own concession. Besides, he disliked the freedom of debate in "the Virginia courts," which were "but a seminary to a seditious parliament."



At the meeting for the choice of officers, in 1622, the nominations made by King James were again disregarded, and a great majority reëlected the earl of Southampton. Unable to get the control of the company by overawing its assemblies, the monarch resolved to sequester the patent; and raised no other question, than how the law of England could be made the instrument of his purpose. The allegation of grievances, set forth by the court faction in a petition to the king, was fully refuted by the company. Yet commissioners were appointed to engage in a general investigation of the concerns of the corporation; the records were seized, the deputy-treasurer imprisoned, and private letters from Virginia intercepted for inspection. Smith was particularly examined: his honest answers plainly exposed the defective arrangements of previous years, and favored the cancelling of the charter as an act of benevolence to the colony.

The result surprised every one: the king, by an order in council, made known that he had resolved, by a new charter, to reserve to himself the appointment of the officers in England, a negative on appointments in Virginia, and the supreme control of all colonial affairs. Should the company resist the change, its patent would be recalled.

The corporation was inflexible. The privy council peremptorily demanded a decisive answer within three days; and, at the expiration of that time, the surrender of the charter was strenuously refused. But the decision of the king was already taken; John Harvey, and Samuel Matthews, and others, were appointed to proceed to Virginia, and examine into the state of the plantation; while a writ of *quo warranto* was issued against the company.

While these things were transacting in England, the commissioners, early in 1624, arrived in the colony. A meeting of the general assembly was immediately convened; and, as the company had refuted the allegations of King James, as opposed to their interests, so the col-



onists replied to them, as contrary to their honor and good name. The principal prayer was, that the governors might not have absolute power, and that the liberty of popular assemblies might be retained; "for," say they, "nothing can conduce more to the public satisfaction and the public utility." In vain was it attempted, by means of intimidation and promises of royal favor, to obtain a petition for the revocation of the charter. It was under that charter that the assembly was itself convened; and, after prudently rejecting a proposition which might have endangered its own existence, it proceeded to memorable acts of independent legislation.

The rights of property were strictly asserted against arbitrary taxation. "The governor shall not lay any taxes or ympositions upon the colony, their lands or commodities, other way than by the authority of the general assembly, to be levyed and ymployed as the said assembly shall appoynt." The rights of personal liberty were likewise asserted, and the power of the executive circumscribed; free trade was favored. The reports of controversies in England rendered it necessary to base the administration of Virginia on a popular decree; and it was expressly enacted, "that no person within the colony, upon the rumor of supposed change and alteration, presume to be disobedient to the present government." These laws, so judiciously framed, show how readily, with the aid of free discussion, men become good legislators on their own concerns.

The commissioners, promptly returning and making their report to the king, eulogized the fertility of the soil and the salubrity of the climate; aggravated the neglect of the company, in regard to the encouragement of staple commodities; and they promised prosperity only by a recurrence to the original instructions of the monarch.

Now, therefore, nothing but the judicial decision remained. The decree, which was to be pronounced by judges who held their office by the tenure of the royal

pleasure, could not long remain doubtful; at the Trinity term, judgment was given against the treasurer and company, and the patents were cancelled.

Thus the company was dissolved. It had fulfilled its high destinies; it had confirmed the colonization of Virginia, and had conceded a liberal form of government to Englishmen in America. Its fate found little sympathy in the English parliament or nation; in the domestic government and franchises of the colony, it produced no immediate change. Sir Francis Wyatt, though he had been an ardent friend of the London company, was confirmed in office; and he and his council, far from being rendered absolute, were only empowered to govern "as fully and amply as any governor and council resident there, at any time within the space of five years now last past." This term of five years was precisely the period of representative government; and the limitation could not but be interpreted as sanctioning the continuance of popular assemblies. The king, in appointing the council in Virginia, rejected the imbittered partisans of the court faction, and formed the administration on the principles of accommodation. His vanity claimed the opportunity of establishing for the colony a code of fundamental laws; but death prevented the indulgence of his self-complacency in so grateful an occupation.

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## CHAPTER IX.

### RESTRICTIONS ON COLONIAL COMMERCE.

ASCENDING the throne in his twenty-fifth year, Charles I. inherited the principles, and was governed by the favorite, of his father. The rejoicings in consequence of his recent nuptials, the reception of his bride, and preparations for a parliament, left him little leisure

for American affairs. Virginia was to the monarch the country of tobacco; its inhabitants were prized according to the revenue derived from their staple. As the plantation was become a royal province, and professed conformity to the Church of England, it won the favor of the clergy and the court. Franchises were neither conceded nor restricted; for royal pride could not discern in an American province any thing like the vigorous life of political liberty. His first Virginian measure was a proclamation on tobacco, confirming to Virginia and the Somer Isles the exclusive supply of the British market, under penalty of the censure of the star-chamber for disobedience. In a few days, a new proclamation announced his fixed resolution of becoming, through his agents, the sole factor of the planters. Zealous only to monopolize the profits of their industry, he left the political rights of Virginia to be established as usages.

For some months the organization of the government was not changed; and, in 1626, when Wyatt, on the death of his father, obtained leave to return to Scotland, Sir George Yeardley was appointed his successor. In the commission now issued, the power of the governor and council was limited, as it had before been, in the commission of Wyatt, by a reference to the usages of the last five years. In that period, representative liberty had become the custom of Virginia; and the words were interpreted as favoring the wishes of the colonists. The colony prospered; Virginia rose rapidly in public estimation; in one year, a thousand emigrants arrived; and there was an increasing demand for all the products of the soil.

In November, 1627, the career of Yeardley was closed by death. Posterity will ever retain a grateful recollection of the man who first convened a representative assembly in the western hemisphere: the colonists, announcing his decease, in a letter to the privy council, gave, at the same time, a eulogy on his virtues. The day after his burial, Francis West was elected his successor; for the council was authorized to elect the gov-

error, "from time to time, as often as the case shall require."

But if any doubts existed of the royal assent to the continuance of colonial assemblies, they were soon removed by a letter of instructions, which the king, in June, 1628, addressed to the governor and council. After much caviling, in the style of a purchaser who undervalues the wares which he wishes to buy, the monarch arrives at his main purpose, and offers to contract for the whole crop of tobacco; desiring, at the same time, that an assembly might be convened to consider his proposal. This is the first recognition, on the part of a Stuart, of a representative assembly in America. The assembly, in its answer, firmly protested against the monopoly, and rejected the conditions which they had been summoned to approve. The independent reply of the assembly was signed by the governor, by five members of the council, and by thirty-one burgesses.

No sooner had the news of the death of Yeardley reached England, than the king proceeded to issue a commission to John Harvey, and, at the same time, gave permission to the council in Virginia to supply all vacancies occurring in their body.

It was during the period which elapsed between the appointment of Harvey and his appearance in America, that Lord Baltimore visited Virginia. Nor should we forget that the people of New Plymouth were, by the planters, invited to abandon the cold and sterile clime of New England for the milder regions on the Delaware Bay—a plain indication that Puritans were not then molested in Virginia.

It was probably in the autumn of 1629 that Harvey arrived in Virginia. Till October, the name of Pott appears as governor; Harvey met his first assembly of burgesses in the following March. The Virginians, during the whole period of his administration, enjoyed the benefit of independent colonial legislation. Through the agency of their representatives, they levied and appropriated all taxes; secured the free industry of their

citizens; guarded the forts with their own soldiers, at their own charge; and gave to their statutes the greatest possible publicity. When the defects and inconveniences of infant legislation were remedied by a revised code, which was published with the approbation of the governor and council, all the privileges which the assembly had ever claimed were carefully confirmed; indeed, they seem never to have been questioned. De Vries, who visited Virginia in 1632-3, had reason to praise the advanced condition of the settlement, the abundance of its products, and the liberality of its governor. But the whole colony of Virginia was excited and alarmed, on the dismemberment of its territory, by the cession to Lord Baltimore. Questions about land titles were agitated with passion; and there was reason to apprehend the increase of extravagant grants, that would again include the soil on which plantations had already been made, without the acquisition of an indisputable legal claim. In Maryland, the first occupants had refused to submit; a skirmish had ensued, in which the blood of Europeans was shed, for the first time, on the waters of the Chesapeake; and Clayborne, defeated, and banished from Maryland, as a murderer and an outlaw, sheltered himself in Virginia, where he had long been a member of the council. There the contest was renewed; and Harvey, far from attempting to enforce the claims of Virginia against the royal grant, sent Clayborne to England, to answer for the crimes with which he was charged. The colonists were indignant that their governor should thus, as it seemed to them, betray their interests; and, as the majority of the council favored their wishes, "Sir John Harvey was thrust out of his government, and Captain John West appointed to the office, till the king's pleasure be known." An assembly was summoned in May, to receive complaints against Harvey; but he had, in the mean time, consented to go to England, and there meet his accusers.

The commissioners appointed by the council to manage the impeachment of Harvey, met with no favor in



England, and were not even admitted to a hearing. In January, 1636, Harvey reappeared to occupy his former station, and was followed by a new commission, by which his powers were still limited to such as had been exercised during the period of legislative freedom. General assemblies continued to be held; but the vacancies in the council, which had been filled in Virginia, were henceforward to be supplied by appointment in England.

Harvey remained in office till 1639, when he was superseded by Sir Francis Wyatt, whose administration was so suited to the tastes and habits of the planters, that it passed silently away, leaving almost no impression on Virginia history, except in its statutes.

It was in February, 1642, that Sir William Berkeley, arriving in the colony, assumed the government. He found the American planters in possession of a large share of the legislative authority, and he confirmed them in the enjoyment of franchises which a long and uninterrupted succession had rendered familiar. Immediately after his arrival, he convened the colonial legislature. The utmost harmony prevailed; the memory of factions was lost in a general amnesty of ancient griefs. George Sandys, an agent of the colony, and an opponent of the royal party in England, had presented a petition to the commons, praying for the restoration of the ancient patents: the royalist assembly promptly disavow the design, and, after a full debate, oppose it by a solemn protest. They assert the necessity of the freedom of trade; "for freedom of trade," say they, "is the blood and life of a commonwealth;" and they defend their preference of self-government, through a colonial legislature, by a conclusive argument:—"There is more likelihood, that such as are acquainted with the clime and its accidents may upon better grounds prescribe our advantages, than such as shall sit at the helm in England." In reply to their urgent petition, the king immediately declared his purpose not to change a form of government in which they "received so much content and satisfaction."



The Virginians, aided by Sir William Berkeley, could now deliberately perfect their civil condition. Condemnations to service had been a usual punishment: these were abolished. In the courts of justice, a near approach was made to the laws and customs of England. Religion was provided for, the law about land titles adjusted, an amicable treaty with Maryland successfully matured, and peace with the Indians confirmed. Taxes were assessed, not in proportion to numbers, but to men's abilities and estates. The spirit of liberty displayed in the English parliament was transmitted to America; and the rights of property, the freedom of industry, the solemn exercise of civil franchises, seemed to be secured to the colonists and their posterity. "A future immunity from taxes and impositions," except such as should be freely voted for their own wants, "was expected as the fruits of the endeavors of their legislature." As the restraints with which colonial navigation was threatened were not enforced, they attracted no attention; and Virginia enjoyed nearly all the liberties which a monarch could concede and retain his supremacy.

Believing themselves secure of all their privileges, the triumph of the popular party in England did not alter the condition or the affections of the Virginians. The commissioners appointed by parliament, with unlimited authority over the plantations, found no favor in Virginia. They promised, indeed, freedom from English taxation; but this immunity was already enjoyed. They gave the colony liberty to choose its own governor; but it had no dislike to Berkeley; and though there was a party for the parliament, yet the king's authority was maintained. The sovereignty of Charles had ever been mildly exercised.

The condition of contending parties in England soon gave the opportunity of legislation independent of European control; and the act, restraining religious liberty, proves conclusively the attachment of the representatives of Virginia to the Episcopal church and the cause of royalty. There had been Puritans in the colony al-

most from the beginning. "Here," said the tolerant Whitaker, "neither surplice nor subscription is spoken of;" and several Puritan families, and perhaps some even of the Puritan clergy, emigrated to Virginia. But now the democratic revolution in England had given an immediate political importance to religious sects: to tolerate Puritanism was to nurse a republican party. It was, therefore, specially ordered that no minister should preach or teach, publicly or privately, except in conformity to the constitutions of the Church of England; and non-conformists were banished from the colony. It was in vain that ministers, invited from Boston by the Puritan settlements in Virginia, carried letters from Winthrop, written to Berkeley and his council by order of the general court of Massachusetts. Sir William Berkeley was "a courtier, and very malignant towards the way of the churches" in New England.

While Virginia thus displayed the intolerance which for centuries had prevailed throughout the Christian world, a scene of distress was prepared by the vindictive ferocity of the natives. In 1643, it was enacted by the assembly, that no terms of peace should be entertained with the Indians, whom it was usual to distress by sudden marches against their settlements; and the red men, in despair, resolved on one more attempt at a general massacre. On the eighteenth day of April, 1644, the time appointed for the carnage, the unexpected onset was begun upon the frontier settlements. But hardly had the Indians steeped their hands in blood, before they were checked by dismay at their own weakness. The number of their victims had been three hundred. Measures were promptly taken by the English for protection and defence; and a war was vigorously conducted. The aged Opechancanough was easily made prisoner, and died in miserable captivity.

So little was apprehended, when the English were once on their guard, that, two months after the massacre, Berkeley embarked for England, leaving Richard Kemp as his successor. A border warfare continued;

marches up and down the Indian country were ordered; yet so weak were the natives, that, though the careless traveller and the straggling huntsman were long in danger of being intercepted, ten men were considered a sufficient force to protect a place of danger.

In October, 1646, about fifteen months after Berkeley's return from England, articles of peace were established between the inhabitants of Virginia and Necotowance, the successor of Opechancanough. Submission and a cession of lands were the terms on which the treaty was purchased; and the original possessors of the soil began to vanish away from the vicinity of their too formidable invaders. Of the labors of the Indians on the soil of Virginia, there remains nothing so respectable as would be a common ditch for the draining of lands; the memorials of their former existence are found only in the names of the rivers and the mountains. Unchanging nature retains the appellations which were given by those whose villages have disappeared, and whose tribes have become extinct.

Thus the colony of Virginia acquired the management of all its concerns; war was levied, and peace concluded, and territory acquired, in conformity to the acts of the representatives of the people. Possessed of security and quiet, abundance of land, a free market for their staple, and, practically, all the rights of an independent state, having England for its guardian against foreign oppression, rather than its ruler, the colonists enjoyed all the prosperity which a virgin soil, equal laws, and general uniformity of condition and industry, could bestow. Their numbers increased; the cottages were filled with children, as the ports were with ships and emigrants. At Christmas, 1648, there were trading in Virginia ten ships from London, two from Bristol, twelve Hollanders, and seven from New England. The number of the colonists was already twenty thousand; and they, who had sustained no griefs, were not tempted to engage in the feuds by which the mother country was divided. After the death of Charles I., though

some favored republicanism, the government recognized his son. The disasters of the Cavaliers in England strengthened their party in the New World. Men of consideration "among the nobility, gentry, and clergy," struck "with horror and despair" at the execution of their king, and desiring no reconciliation with the unrelenting "rebels," made their way to the shores of the Chesapeake, where every house was for them a "hostelry," and every planter a friend. The mansion and the purse of Berkeley were open to all; and at the hospitable dwellings that were scattered along the rivers and among the wilds of Virginia, the Cavaliers, exiles like their monarch, met in frequent groups to recount their toils, to sigh over defeats, and to nourish loyalty and hope. The faithfulness of the Virginians did not escape the attention of the royal exile; from his retreat in Breda he transmitted to Berkeley a new commission; he still controlled the distribution of offices, and, amidst his defeats in Scotland, still remembered with favor the faithful Cavaliers in the western world. Charles the Second, a fugitive from England, was yet the sovereign of Virginia. "Virginia was whole for monarchy, and the last country, belonging to England, that submitted to obedience of the commonwealth."

But the parliament did not long permit its authority to be denied. Having, by the vigorous energy and fearless enthusiasm of republicanism, triumphed over all its enemies in Europe, a memorable ordinance, in October, 1650, empowered the council of state to reduce the rebellious colonies to obedience, and, at the same time, established it as a law, that foreign ships should not trade at any of the ports "in Barbadoes, Antigua, Bermudas, and Virginia." The lovers of monarchy indulged the hope, that the victories of their friends in the Chesapeake would redeem the disgrace that had elsewhere fallen on the royal arms; many partisans of Charles had come over as to a place of safety; and the honest Governor Berkeley, than whom "no man

meant better," was so confirmed in his confidence, that he wrote to the king, almost inviting him to America. The approach of the day of trial was watched with the deepest interest.

But while the preparations were yet making for the reduction of the colonies which still preserved an appearance of loyalty, the commercial policy of England underwent a revision, and the English government resolved to protect the English merchant. Cromwell desired to confirm the maritime power of his country; and St. John, a Puritan and a republican in theory, though never averse to a limited monarchy, devised the first act of navigation, which the politic Whitelocke introduced and carried through parliament. Henceforward, the commerce between England and her colonies, as well as between England and the rest of the world, was to be conducted in ships solely owned and principally manned by Englishmen. Foreigners might bring to England nothing but the products of their own respective countries, or those of which their countries were the established staples. The act contained not one clause relating to a colonial monopoly, or specially injurious to an American colony. Of itself it inflicted no wound on Virginia or New England. It was but a protection of British shipping against Dutch competition.

A naval war soon followed, which Cromwell eagerly desired, and Holland as earnestly endeavored to avoid. The spirit of each people was kindled with the highest national enthusiasm; the commerce of the world was the prize contended for; the ocean was the scene of the conflict; and the annals of recorded time had never known so many great naval actions in such quick succession. This was the war in which Blake, and Ayscue, and De Ruyter, gained their glory; and Tromp fixed a broom to his mast in bravado, as if to sweep the English flag from the seas.

It is as the rival of Holland, the successful antagonist of Spain, the protector of English shipping, that Cromwell has claims to glory. The crown passed from the



brow of his sons; his wide plans for the possession of commercial places on the continent were defeated; Dunkirk was restored; the monarchy, which he subverted, was reëstablished; the nobility, which he humbled, recovered its pride: Jamaica and the Act of Navigation are the permanent monuments of Cromwell.

The protection of English shipping was thus permanently established as a part of the British commercial policy. English merchants next insisted upon the entire monopoly of colonial commerce.

It is the ancient fate of colonies to be planted by the daring of the poor and the hardy; to struggle into being through the severest trials; to be neglected by the parent country during the season of poverty and weakness; to thrive by the unrestricted application of their powers and enterprise; and by their consequent prosperity to tempt oppression.

The first charter for Virginia expressly admitted strangers to trade with the colony on payment of a small discriminating duty. On the enlargement of the company, the intercourse with foreigners was still permitted; nor were any limits assigned to the commerce in which they might engage. The last charter was equally free from unreasonable restrictions on trade; and, by a confirmation of all former privileges, it permitted to foreign nations the traffic which it did not expressly sanction.

It was in the reign of King Charles I., on the appointment of Sir William Berkeley, that the expedient which was destined to become so celebrated, was devised. No vessel laden with colonial commodities might sail from the harbors of Virginia for any ports but those of England, that the staple of those commodities might be made in the mother country; and all trade with foreign vessels, except in case of necessity, was forbidden. This system, which the instructions of Berkeley commanded him to introduce, was ultimately successful; for it sacrificed no rights but those of the colonists,



while it identified the interests of the English merchant and the English government, and leagued them together for the oppression of those who, for more than a century, were too feeble to offer effectual resistance. —

The Long Parliament was more just; it attempted to secure to English shipping the whole carrying trade of the colonies, but with the free consent of the colonies themselves; offering an equivalent, which the legislatures in America were at liberty to reject.

The memorable ordinance of 1650 was a war measure, and extended only to the colonies which had adhered to the Stuarts. All intercourse with them was forbidden, except to those who had a license from parliament or the council of state. Foreigners were rigorously excluded; and this prohibition was designed to continue in force even after the suppression of all resistance. While, therefore, the navigation act secured to English ships the entire carrying trade with England, in connection with the ordinance of the preceding year, it conferred a monopoly of colonial commerce.

But this state of commercial law was essentially modified by the manner in which the authority of the English commonwealth was established in the Chesapeake.

No sooner had the Guinea frigate anchored in the waters of the Chesapeake, than "thoughts of resistance were laid aside," and the colonists, having no motive to contend for a monarch whose fortunes seemed irretrievable, were earnest only to assert the freedom of their own institutions. It marks the character of the Virginians, that they refused to surrender to force, but yielded by a voluntary deed and a mutual compact. It was agreed, upon the surrender, that the "PEOPLE OF VIRGINIA" should have all the liberties of the freeborn people of England; should intrust their business, as formerly, to their own grand assembly; should remain unquestioned for their past loyalty; and should have "as free trade as the people of England." No taxes, no customs, might be levied, except by their own representatives; no forts erected, no garrisons maintained,

but by their own consent. In the settlement of the government, harmony prevailed between the burgesses and the commissioners: it was the governor and council only, who had any apprehensions for their safety, and who scrupulously provided a guaranty for the security of their persons and property, which there evidently had existed no design to injure.

These terms, so favorable to liberty, and almost conceding independence, were faithfully observed till the restoration. The colony of Virginia enjoyed liberties as large as the favored New England; displayed an equal degree of aptitude for popular sovereignty, and fearlessly exercised political independence. There had long existed a republican party; and, now that monarchy had fallen, on whom could the royalists rely so safely as on themselves? The executive officers became elective; and Richard Bennett, himself a commissioner of the parliament, and, moreover, a merchant and a Roundhead, was, on the recommendation of the other commissioners, in April, 1652, unanimously chosen governor. The oath required of the burgesses made it their paramount duty to provide for "the general good and prosperity" of Virginia and its inhabitants. Under the administration of Berkeley, Bennett had been driven from Virginia; and now not the slightest effort at revenge was attempted.

The act which constituted the government, claimed for the assembly the privilege of defining the powers which were to belong to the governor and council; and the public good was declared to require "that the right of electing all officers of this colony should appertain to the burgesses," as to "the representatives of the people."

Nor was this an accidental and transient arrangement. Cromwell never made any appointments for Virginia; not one governor acted under his commission. When Bennett, in 1655, retired from office, the assembly itself elected his successor; and Edward Diggs, who had before been chosen of the council, and who "had given a signal testimony of his fidelity to Virginia, and to the

commonwealth of England," received the suffrages. The commissioners in the colony were rather engaged in settling the affairs and adjusting the boundaries of Maryland, than in controlling the destinies of Virginia.

The right of electing the governor continued to be claimed by the representatives of the people, and "Samuel Matthews, an old planter, of nearly forty years' standing," who had been "a most deserving commonwealth's man, kept a good house, lived bravely, and was a true lover of Virginia," was, in 1658, advanced to the office. The burgesses enlarged their power by excluding the governor and council from their sessions, and then voted an adjournment. The governor, sustained by the council, asserted his prerogatives, and declared the dissolution of the assembly. The dissolution was proclaimed illegal; the right of appeal to the Protector was firmly denied by a committee, of which John Carter, of Lancaster, was the chief; and a declaration of popular sovereignty was solemnly made. The burgesses now decreed the former election of governor and council to be void. Having thus exercised, not merely the right of election, but the more extraordinary right of removal, they reëlected Matthews, "who by us," they add, "shall be invested with all the just rights and privileges belonging to the governor and captain-general of Virginia." The governor submitted, and confessed the validity of his ejection by taking the new oath, which had just been prescribed.

The death of Cromwell made no change in the constitution of the colony. The message of the governor, early in 1659, announced the event to the legislature, and the burgesses unanimously resolved that Richard Cromwell should be acknowledged. But it was a more interesting question, whether the change of protector in England would endanger liberty in Virginia. The letter from the council had left the government to be administered according to former usage. That there might be no reason to question the existing usage, the governor was summoned to come to the house; where

he admitted the supreme power of electing officers to be resident in the assembly. The reason for this proceeding is assigned — “that what was their privilege now, might be the privilege of their posterity.”

On the death of Matthews, in March, 1669, the Virginians were without a chief magistrate, just at the time when the resignation of Richard had left England without a government. The burgesses immediately came together, and enacted, “that the supreme power of the government of this country shall be resident in the assembly; and all writs shall issue in its name, until there shall arrive from England a commission which the assembly itself shall adjudge to be lawful.” This being done, Sir William Berkeley was elected governor; and, owning the validity of the acts of the burgesses, whom, it was expressly agreed, he could in no event dissolve, he accepted the office, and recognized the authority to which he owed his elevation. Virginia did not lay claim to absolute independence, but, awaiting the settlement of affairs in England, hoped for the restoration of the Stuarts.

The legislation of the colony had taken its character from the condition of the people; Virginia possessed not one considerable town, and her statutes favored the independence of the planter, rather than the security of trade. The representatives of colonial landholders voted “the total ejection of mercenary attornies.” By a special act, emigrants were safe against suits designed to enforce engagements that had been made in Europe; and colonial obligations might be easily satisfied by a surrender of property. Tobacco was generally used instead of coin. Theft was hardly known, and the spirit of the criminal law was mild. The highest judicial tribunal was the assembly, which was convened once a year, or oftener. Already large landed proprietors were frequent; and plantations of two thousand acres were not unknown.

During the suspension of the royal government in England, Virginia attained unlimited liberty of com-

merce, which she regulated by independent laws. The ordinance of 1650 was rendered void by the act of capitulation; the navigation act of Cromwell was not designed for her oppression, and was not enforced within her borders. If an occasional confiscation took place, it was done by the authority of the colonial assembly. The war between England and Holland did not wholly interrupt the intercourse of the Dutch with the English colonies; and if, after the treaty of peace, the trade was considered contraband, the English restrictions were entirely disregarded. A remonstrance, addressed to Cromwell, demanded an unlimited liberty; and we may suppose that it was not refused, — for, in March, 1658, some months before Cromwell's death, the Virginians "invited the Dutch and all foreigners" to trade with them, on payment of no higher duty than that which was levied on such English vessels as were bound for a foreign port. Proposals of peace and commerce between New Netherlands and Virginia were discussed, without scruple, by the respective colonial governments; and, in 1660, a special statute of Virginia extended to every Christian nation, in amity with England, a promise of liberty to trade and equal justice. At the restoration, Virginia enjoyed freedom of commerce with the whole world.

Religious liberty advanced under the influence of independent domestic legislation. No churches had been erected, except in the heart of the colony, and there were so few ministers that a bounty was offered for their importation. Conformity had, in the reign of Charles, been enforced by measures of disfranchisement and exile. By the people, under the commonwealth, though they were attached to the church of their fathers, all things respecting parishes and parishioners were referred to their own ordering; and religious liberty would have been perfect, but for an act by which Quakers were banished.

Virginia was the first state in the world, composed of separate boroughs, diffused over an extensive surface,



where the government was organized on the principle of universal suffrage. All freemen, without exception, were entitled to vote. An attempt was once made to limit the right to housekeepers, but the public voice reprobated the restriction; the very next year, it was decided to be "hard, and unagreeable to reason, that any person shall pay equal taxes, and yet have no votes in elections;" and the electoral franchise was restored to all freemen.

Thus Virginia established upon her soil the freedom of trade, the independence of religious societies, the security from foreign taxation, and the universal elective franchise. She already preferred her own sons for places of authority; the country felt itself honored by those who were "Virginians born;" and emigrants never again desired to live in England. Prosperity advanced with freedom; dreams of new staples and infinite wealth were indulged, — while the population of Virginia, at the epoch of the restoration, may have been about thirty thousand. Many of the recent emigrants had been royalists in England, good officers in the war, men of education, of property, and of condition. The revolution had not subdued their characters, but the waters of the Atlantic divided them from the political strifes of Europe; their industry was employed in making the best advantage of their plantations; and no bitterness existed between the firmest partisans of the Stuarts and the friends of republican liberty. Virginia had long been the home of its inhabitants. "Among many other blessings," said their statute-book, "God Almighty hath vouchsafed increase of children to this colony, who are now multiplied to a considerable number;" and the huts in the wilderness were as full as the birds'-nests of the woods.

Various were the employments by which the calmness of life was relieved: George Sandys beguiled the ennui of his seclusion by translating the whole of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*; to the man of leisure, the chase furnished a perpetual resource.



The hospitality of the Virginians was proverbial. Labor was valuable; land was cheap; competence promptly followed industry. There was no need of a scramble; abundance gushed from the earth for all. The morasses were alive with water-fowl; the creeks abounded with oysters, heaped together in inexhaustible beds; the rivers were crowded with fish; the forests were nimble with game; the woods rustled with coveys of quails and wild turkeys, while they rung with the merry notes of the singing-birds; and hogs, swarming like vermin, ran at large in troops. It was "the best poor man's country in the world." "If a happy peace be settled in poor England," it had been said, "then they in Virginia shall be as happy a people as any under heaven." But plenty encouraged indolence. No domestic manufactures were established; every thing was imported from England. The chief branch of industry, for the purpose of exchanges, was tobacco-planting; and the spirit of invention was enfeebled by the uniformity of pursuit.

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## CHAPTER X.

### COLONIZATION OF MARYLAND.

THE limits of Virginia, by its second charter, extended two hundred miles north of Old Point Comfort, and therefore included all the soil which subsequently formed the state of Maryland. It was not long before the country towards the head of the Chesapeake was explored; settlements in Accomack were extended; and commerce was begun with the tribes which Smith had been the first to visit. Porey, the secretary of the colony, in 1621, "made a discovery into the great bay" as far as the River Patuxent, which he ascended; but his voyage probably reached no farther to the north. The English

settlement of a hundred men, which he is represented to have found already established, was rather a consequence of his voyage, and seems to have been on the Eastern Shore, perhaps within the limits of Virginia. The hope "of a very good trade of furs" animated the adventurers, and commerce with the Indians was pursued under the sanction of the colonial government.

An attempt was made to obtain a monopoly of this commerce by William Clayborne. His first appearance in America was as a surveyor, sent by the London company to make a map of the country. At the fall of the corporation, he had been appointed by King James a member of the council, on the accession of Charles was continued in office, and, in repeated commissions, was nominated secretary of state. At the same time, he received authority from the governors of Virginia to discover the source of the Bay of the Chesapeake, and, indeed, any part of that province from the thirty-fourth to the forty-first degree of latitude. Upon his favorable representations, a company was formed in England for trading with the natives; and, through the agency of Sir William Alexander, the Scottish proprietor of Nova Scotia, a royal license was issued, in May, 1631, sanctioning the commerce, and conferring on Clayborne powers of government over the companions of his voyages. Harvey enforced the commands of his sovereign, and confirmed the license by a colonial commission. The Dutch plantations were esteemed to border upon Virginia. After long experience as a surveyor, and after years employed in discoveries, Clayborne, now acting under the royal license, formed establishments not only on Kent Island, in the heart of Maryland, but also near the mouth of the Susquehannah. Thus the colony of Virginia anticipated the extension of its commerce and its limits, and, as mistress of all the vast and commodious waters of the Chesapeake, and of the soil on both sides of the Potomac, indulged the hope of obtaining the most brilliant commercial success, and rising into powerful opulence, without the competition of a rival.

It was the peculiar fortune of the United States, that they were severally colonized by men, in origin, religious faith, and purposes, as various as the climes which are included within their limits. Before Virginia could complete its settlements, and confirm its claims to jurisdiction over the country north of the Potomac, a new government was erected on a foundation as extraordinary as its results were benevolent. Sir George Calvert had early become interested in colonial establishments in America. A native of Yorkshire, educated at Oxford, with a mind enlarged by extensive travel, on his entrance into life befriended by Sir Robert Cecil, advanced to the honors of knighthood, and at length employed as one of the two secretaries of state, he not only secured the consideration of his patron and his sovereign, but the good opinion of the world. In parliament, he represented his native county of Yorkshire. His capacity for business, his industry, and his fidelity, are acknowledged by all historians. In an age when increasing divisions among Protestants were spreading a general alarm, his mind sought relief from controversy in the bosom of the Roman Catholic church; and, preferring the avowal of his opinions to the emoluments of office, in 1624, he resigned his place, and openly professed his conversion. King James was never bitter against the Catholics, who respected his pretensions as a monarch. Calvert retained his place in the privy council, and was advanced to the dignity of an Irish peerage. He had from early life shared in English enthusiasm in favor of American plantations; he had been a member of the great company for Virginia; and, while secretary of state, he had obtained a special patent for the southern promontory of Newfoundland. How zealous he was in selecting suitable emigrants; how earnest to promote domestic order and economical industry; how lavishly he expended his estate in advancing his settlement on the rugged shores of Avalon,—is related by those who have written of his life. He desired, as a founder of a colony, not present profit, but a reasonable

expectation; and, perceiving the evils of a common stock, he cherished enterprise by leaving each one to enjoy the results of his own industry. But numerous difficulties prevented success in Newfoundland: parliament had ever asserted the freedom of the fisheries, which his grants tended to impair; the soil and the climate did not resemble the glowing pictures of his early agents; and the incessant danger of attacks from the French, who possessed the circumjacent continent, spread a gloom over the future. Twice, it is said, did Lord Baltimore visit his settlement; with ships manned at his own charge, he repelled the French, who were hovering round the coast, with the design of annoying the English fishermen; and, having taken sixty of them prisoners, he secured a temporary tranquillity to his countrymen and his colonists. But, notwithstanding this success, all hopes of a thriving plantation in Avalon were vain. Why should the English emigrate to mists and rocks in the vicinity of a hostile power, when a peaceful home might now be obtained in Virginia, without peril?

Lord Baltimore looked to Virginia, of which the advantages were so much extolled. Yet, as a Papist, he could hardly expect a welcome in a colony from which the careful exclusion of Roman Catholics had been originally avowed as a special object, and where the statutes of the provincial legislature, as well as the commands of the sovereign, aimed at a perpetual religious uniformity. When, in 1628, he visited Virginia, the zeal of the assembly tendered the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. In vain did he propose a form which he was willing to subscribe; the government insisted upon that which had been chosen by the English statutes, and which was purposely framed in such language as no Catholic could adopt. A letter from the assembly to the privy council explained the dispute, which had grown out of the intolerance of European legislation. Lord Baltimore could never hope to establish a colony within the jurisdiction of Virginia.

But the country beyond the Potomac appeared to be, as yet, unappropriated. The French, the Dutch, and the Swedes, were preparing to occupy it; and a grant seemed the readiest mode of securing the soil by an English settlement. The canceling of the Virginia patents had restored to the monarch his prerogative over the vast territory; and it was not difficult for Calvert—a man of such moderation that all parties were taken with him, sincere in his character, disengaged from all interests, and a favorite with the royal family—to obtain a charter for domains in that happy clime.

The ocean, the fortieth parallel of latitude, the meridian of the western fountain of the Potomac, the river itself from its source to its mouth, and a line drawn due east from Watkin's Point to the Atlantic,—these were the limits of the province. From Henrietta Maria, the daughter of Henry IV., and wife of Charles I., whose restless mind, disdaining contentment in domestic happiness, aspired to power and distinction, it received the name of Maryland. The country thus described was given to Lord Baltimore, his heirs and assigns, as to its absolute lord and proprietary, to be holden by the tenure of fealty only. The legislation of the province was to be established, with the advice and approbation of the majority of the freemen or their deputies. The authority of the absolute proprietary did not extend to the life, freehold, or estate of any emigrant. Sir George Calvert was a Roman Catholic; yet, far from guarding his territory against any but those of his persuasion, as he had divested himself and his successors of all arbitrary power, by establishing the legislative franchises of the people, so he took from them the means of being intolerant in religion, by securing to all present and future liege people of the English king, without distinction of sect or party, free leave to transport themselves and their families to Maryland. Christianity was, by the charter, made the law of the land, but no preference was given to any sect; and equality in religious rights, not less than in civil freedom, was assured. A monop-



oly of the fisheries was expressly renounced. As a Catholic, Calvert needed to be free from the jurisdiction of his neighbor. Maryland was carefully separated from Virginia; nor was he obliged to obtain the royal assent to the appointments or the legislation of his province. The English monarch reserved not even the power to take cognizance of what transpired, and, by an express stipulation, covenanted that neither he, nor his heirs, nor his successors, should ever set any imposition, custom, or tax whatsoever upon the inhabitants of the province. Some other rights were conferred on the proprietary;—the advowson of churches; the power of creating manors and courts baron, and of establishing a colonial aristocracy on the system of sub-infeudation—but feudal institutions could not renew their youth in America. Sooner might the oldest oaks in Windsor Forest be transplanted across the Atlantic, than the antiquated social forms, which Europe itself was beginning to reject. But the seeds of popular liberty contained in the charter, would find in the New World the soil best suited to quicken them into life and fruitfulness.

Calvert deserves to be ranked among the most wise and benevolent lawgivers of all ages. He was the first, in the history of the Christian world, to seek for religious security and peace by the practice of justice, and not by the exercise of power; to plan the establishment of popular institutions, with the enjoyment of liberty of conscience; to advance the career of civilization, by recognizing the rightful equality of all Christian sects. The asylum of Papists was the spot where, in a remote corner of the world, on the banks of rivers which as yet had hardly been explored, the mild forbearance of a proprietary adopted religious freedom as the basis of the state.

Before the patent could be finally adjusted, and pass the great seal, Sir George Calvert died, leaving a name against which the breath of calumny has hardly whispered a reproach. His son, Cecil Calvert, succeeded to his honors and fortunes. For him, the heir of his father's intentions, not less than of his father's fortunes,



the charter of Maryland was, in June, 1632, published and confirmed; and he obtained the high distinction of successfully performing what the colonial companies had hardly been able to achieve. At a vast expense, he planted a colony, which for several generations descended as a patrimony to his heirs.

Virginia regarded the severing of her territory with apprehension, and, before any colonists had embarked under the charter of Baltimore, her commissioners had in England remonstrated against the grant, as an invasion of her commercial rights, an infringement on her domains, and a discouragement to her planters. In Strafford Lord Baltimore found a friend, — for Strafford had been the friend of the father, — and the remonstrance was in vain; the privy council sustained the proprietary charter, and, advising the parties to an amicable adjustment of all disputes, commanded a free commerce and a good correspondence between the respective colonies.

Nor was it long before gentlemen of birth and quality resolved to adventure their lives and a good part of their fortunes in the enterprise of planting a colony under so favorable a charter; and, on Friday, the twenty-second of November, 1633, with a small but favoring gale, Leonard Calvert, brother to Lord Baltimore, and about two hundred people, most of them Roman Catholic gentlemen and their servants, in the *Ark* and the *Dove*, a ship of large burden, and a pinnace, set sail for the northern bank of the Potomac. Having staid by the way in Barbadoes and St. Christopher, it was not till February of 1634, that they arrived at Point Comfort, in Virginia; where, in obedience to the express letters of King Charles, they were welcomed by Harvey with courtesy and humanity. Clayborne also appeared, but it was as a prophet of ill omen, to terrify the company by predicting the fixed hostility of the natives.

Leaving Point Comfort, Calvert sailed into the Potomac, and with the pinnace ascended the stream. A cross was planted on an island, and the country claimed

for Christ and for England. At about forty-seven leagues above the mouth of the river, he found the village of Piscataqua, an Indian settlement nearly opposite Mount Vernon. The chieftain of the tribe would neither bid him go nor stay; "he might use his own discretion." It did not seem safe for the English to plant the first settlement so high up the river; Calvert descended the stream, examining, in his barge, the creeks and estuaries nearer the Chesapeake; he entered the river which is now called St. Mary's, and which he named St. George's; and, about four leagues from its junction with the Potomac, he anchored at the Indian town of Yoacomoco. The native inhabitants, having suffered from the superior power of the Susquehannahs, who occupied the district between the bays, had already resolved to remove into places of more security in the interior; and many of them had begun to migrate before the English arrived. To Calvert the spot seemed convenient for a plantation; it was easy, by presents of cloth and axes, of hoes and knives, to gain the good will of the natives, and to purchase their rights to the soil which they were preparing to abandon. They readily gave consent that the English should immediately occupy one half of their town, and, after the harvest, should become the exclusive tenants of the whole. Mutual promises of friendship and peace were made; so that, upon the twenty-seventh day of March, the Catholics took quiet possession of the little place; and religious liberty obtained a home — its only home in the wide world — at the humble village which bore the name of St. Mary's.

Three days after the landing of Calvert, the Ark and the Dove anchored in the harbor. Sir John Harvey soon arrived on a visit; the native chiefs, also, came to welcome or to watch the emigrants, and were so well received, that they resolved to give perpetuity to their league of amity with the English. The Indian women taught the wives of the new comers to make bread of maize; the warriors of the tribe instructed the hunters how rich were the forests of America in game, and

joined them in the chase. And, as the season of the year invited to the pursuits of agriculture, and the English had come into possession of ground already subdued, they were able, at once, to possess cornfields and gardens, and prepare the wealth of successful husbandry. Virginia, from its surplus produce, could furnish a temporary supply of food, and all kinds of domestic cattle. No sufferings were endured; no fears of want were excited; the foundation of the colony of Maryland was peacefully and happily laid. Within six months, it had advanced more than Virginia had done in as many years. The proprietary provided every thing that was necessary for its comfort and protection, and, to promote its interests, expended, in the two first years, upwards of forty thousand pounds sterling. But far more memorable was the character of the Maryland institutions. Every other country in the world had persecuting laws. "I will not," — such was the oath for the governor of Maryland, — "I will not, by myself or any other, directly or indirectly, molest any person professing to believe in Jesus Christ, for or in respect of religion." Under the mild institutions and munificence of Baltimore, the dreary wilderness soon bloomed with the swarming life and activity of prosperous settlements; the Roman Catholics, oppressed by the laws of England, were sure to find a peaceful asylum in the quiet harbors of the Chesapeake; and there, too, Protestants were sheltered against Protestant intolerance.

Twelve months had not elapsed before the colony of Maryland was, in February, 1635, convened for legislation. Probably all the freemen of the province were present in a strictly popular assembly. The laws of the session are no longer extant; but we know that the necessity of vindicating the jurisdiction of the province against the claims of Clayborne was deemed a subject worthy of the general deliberation and of a decisive act; for he had resolved on maintaining his possessions by force of arms. The earliest annals of Maryland are defaced by the accounts of a bloody skirmish on one of

the rivers near the Isle of Kent. Several lives were lost in the affray; but Clayborne's men were defeated and taken prisoners. Clayborne himself had fled to Virginia; and, when he was reclaimed by the government of Maryland, Harvey, who favored Baltimore, sent the fugitive with the witnesses to England.

When the whole affair came to be referred to the commissioners for the plantations, it was found that, on received principles, the right of the king to confer the soil and the jurisdiction of Maryland could not be controverted; that the earlier license to traffic did not vest in Clayborne any rights which were valid against the charter; and therefore that the Isle of Kent belonged absolutely to Lord Baltimore, who alone could permit plantations to be established, or commerce with the Indians to be conducted, within the limits of his territory.

Yet the people of Maryland were not content with vindicating the limits of their province: jealous of their liberties, they rejected the code which the proprietary, as if holding the exclusive privilege of proposing statutes, had prepared for their government; and, in their turn, enacted a body of laws. So uniformly active in America was the spirit of popular liberty. How discreetly it was exercised, cannot now be known; for the laws which were then enacted were never ratified, and are not to be found in the provincial records.

In the early history of the United States, nothing is more remarkable than the uniform attachment of each colony to its franchises; and popular assemblies burst every where into life, with a consciousness of their importance, and an immediate capacity for efficient legislation. The first assembly of Maryland had vindicated the jurisdiction of the colony; the second had asserted its claims to original legislation; the third, which was now convened, established a system of representative government, and asserted for the general assemblies in the province all such powers as might be exercised by the commons of England. The constitution had not yet attained a fixed form; thus far it had

been a species of democracy under an hereditary patriarch. The act constituting the assembly marks the transition to a representative government. At this session, any freeman who had taken no part in the election, might attend in person; henceforward the governor might summon his friends by special writ; while the people were to choose as many delegates as "the freemen should think good." As yet there was no jealousy of power, no strife for place. While these laws prepared a frame of government for future generations, we are reminded of the feebleness and poverty of the state, where the whole people were obliged to contribute to "the setting up of a water-mill."

It was not long before the inhabitants recognized Lord Baltimore's "great charge and solicitude in maintaining the government, and protecting them in their persons, rights, and liberties;" and therefore, "out of desire to return some testimony of gratitude," they freely granted "such a subsidy as the young and poor estate of the colony could bear."

A war of frontier aggressions with the Indians was marked by no decisive events. After hostilities for two years, peace was reëstablished, in 1644, on the usual terms of submission and promises of friendship, and rendered durable by the prudent legislation of the assembly and the firm humanity of the government. The pre-emption of the soil was reserved to Lord Baltimore, kidnapping an Indian made a capital offence, and the sale of arms prohibited as a felony.

But the restless Clayborne, urged, perhaps, by the conviction of having been wronged, and still more by the hope of revenge, proved a far more dangerous enemy. While the commotions in England left every colony in America nearly unheeded, the power of the proprietary was almost as feeble as that of the king. The other colonies took advantage of the period to secure and advance their liberties: in Maryland, the effect was rather to encourage the insubordination of the restless; and Clayborne, declaring for the popular



party, with the assistance of one Ingle, who obtained sufficient notoriety to be proclaimed a traitor to the king, was able to excite an insurrection. Early in 1645, the rebels were triumphant : unprepared for an attack, the governor was compelled to fly ; and more than a year elapsed before the assistance of the well-disposed could enable him to resume his power and restore tranquillity. The insurgents distinguished the period of their dominion by disorder and misrule, and most of the records were then lost or embezzled. Peace was confirmed by the wise clemency of the government ; the offences of the rebellion were concealed by a general amnesty ; and the province was rescued, though not without expense, from the distresses and confusion which had followed a short but vindictive and successful insurrection.

The controversy between the king and the parliament advanced ; the overthrow of the monarchy seemed about to confer unlimited power in England upon the imbittered enemies of the Romish church ; and, as if with a foresight of impending danger, and an earnest desire to stay its approach, in April, 1649, the Roman Catholics of Maryland, with the earnest concurrence of their governor and of the proprietary, determined to place upon their statute-book an act for the religious freedom which had ever been sacred on their soil. “ And whereas the enforcing of the conscience in matters of religion ” — such was the sublime tenor of a part of the statute — “ hath frequently fallen out to be of dangerous consequence in those commonwealths where it has been practised, and for the more quiet and peaceable government of this province, and the better to preserve mutual love and amity among the inhabitants, no person within this province, professing to believe in Jesus Christ, shall be any ways troubled, molested, or discountenanced, for his or her religion, or in the free exercise thereof.” Thus did the early star of religious freedom appear as the harbinger of day ; though, as it first gleamed above the horizon, its light was colored and obscured by the mists and exhalations of morning. Death was still denounced against the blasphemer and the infidel!



But the design of the law of Maryland was, undoubtedly, to protect freedom of conscience; and the apologist of Lord Baltimore could assert that his government, in conformity with his strict and repeated injunctions, had never given disturbance to any person in Maryland for matter of religion; that the colonists enjoyed freedom of conscience, not less than freedom of person and estate, as amply as ever any people in any place of the world. The disfranchised friends of prelacy from Massachusetts, and the Puritans from Virginia, were welcomed to equal liberty of conscience and political rights in the Roman Catholic province of Maryland.

An equal union prevailed between all branches of the government, in explaining and confirming the civil liberties of the colony. In 1642, Robert Vaughan, in the name of the rest of the burgesses, had desired that the house might be separated, and thus a negative secured to the representatives of the people. Before 1649, this change had taken place; and it was confirmed by a statute. The dangerous prerogative of declaring martial law was also limited to the precincts of the camp and the garrison; and a perpetual act declared that no tax should be levied upon the freemen of the province, except by the vote of their deputies in a general assembly. "The strength of the proprietary" was confidently reposed "in the affections of his people." Well might the freemen of Maryland place upon their records a declaration of their gratitude, "as a memorial to all posterities," and a plêdge that succeeding generations would faithfully "remember" the care and industry of Lord Baltimore, in advancing "the peace and happiness of the colony."

But the revolutions in England could not but affect the destinies of the colonies. When the throne and the peerage had been subverted in England, could the mimic monarchy of Lord Baltimore continue? The scrupulous Puritans hesitated to take an unqualified oath of fealty, with which they might be unable to comply. Englishmen were no longer lieges of a sovereign, but

members of a commonwealth; and, but for the claims of Baltimore, Maryland would equally enjoy the benefits of republican liberty. Great as was the temptation to assert independence, it would not have prevailed, could the peace of the province have been maintained. But who, it might well be asked, was its rightful sovereign? Her "beauty and extraordinary goodness" had been to her a fatal dowry, and Maryland was claimed by four separate aspirants. Virginia was ever ready to revive its rights to jurisdiction beyond the Potomac, and Clayborne had already excited attention by his persevering opposition. Charles II., incensed against Lord Baltimore for his adhesion to the rebels and his toleration of schismatics, had issued a commission to Sir William Davenant; Stone was the active deputy of Lord Baltimore; and parliament had already appointed its commissioners.

The possession of the executive power in Maryland vibrated with every revolution of parties in England. The Long Parliament did not befriend the English aristocracy; and, although the ordinance of 1659, for the reduction of the rebellious colonies, had not included Maryland, yet, as the commissioners were instructed to reduce "all the plantations within the Bay of the Chesapeake," Clayborne and Bennett, in 1653, entered the province, declared all commissions from Lord Baltimore to be invalid, appointed new officers, and permitted Stone to share the executive power only on condition of his accepting a commission from themselves.

On the dissolution of the Long Parliament, it was believed that, in England, the vested rights of property would be respected; and Stone and his friends reinstated the power of Lord Baltimore in its integrity. Displacing all officers of the contrary party, they introduced the old council, and declared the condition of the colony, as settled by Bennett and Clayborne, to have been a state of rebellion.

The measures were premature. No sooner did Clayborne and his colleague learn the new revolution, than

they hastened to Maryland, forced Stone to surrender the government into their hands, and appointed a board of ten commissioners, to whom the administration of Maryland was intrusted.

Intolerance followed upon this arrangement; for parties had necessarily become identified with religious sects, and Maryland itself was the prize contended for. The Puritans, ever the friends of popular liberty, hostile to monarchy, and equally so to an hereditary proprietary, contended earnestly for every civil liberty, but had neither the gratitude to respect the rights of the government by which they had been received and fostered, nor magnanimity to continue the toleration to which alone they were indebted for their residence in the colony. The new assembly, convened at Patuxent, while it acknowledged the authority of Cromwell, exasperated the whole Romish party by their wanton disfranchisement.

Meantime the power of Cromwell was established, and his policy did not lead him to question the rights of Lord Baltimore. Towards the end of January, 1655, on the arrival of a friendly ship, it was noised abroad through Maryland that his patent had been confirmed by the Protector; but the party of his friends, who assembled in the province to restore his authority, were attacked by the Puritans, and utterly discomfited.

A friend to Lord Baltimore, then in the province, begged of the Protector no other boon than that he would "condescend to settle the country by declaring his determinate will." And yet the same causes which led Cromwell to neglect the internal concerns of Virginia, compelled him to pay but little attention to the disturbances in Maryland. On the one hand, he respected the rights of property of Lord Baltimore; on the other, he favored his own political partisans, corresponded with his commissioners, and expressed no displeasure at their exercise of power. Disturbances and anarchy were the consequence.

For a season, there was a divided rule; Fendall was acknowledged by the Catholic party in the city of St.

Mary's, and the commissioners were sustained by the Puritans of St. Leonard's. At length, in March, 1658, the conditions of a compromise were settled; and the government of the whole province was surrendered to the agent of the proprietary. Permission to retain arms, an indemnity for arrears, relief from the oath of fealty, and a confirmation of the acts and orders of the recent Puritan assemblies—these were the terms of the surrender, and prove the influence of the Puritans.

The death of Cromwell left the condition of England uncertain, and might well diffuse a gloom through the counties of Maryland. For ten years, the unhappy province had been distracted by dissensions, of which the root had consisted in the claims that Baltimore had always advanced, and had never been able to establish. Wearied with long convulsions, a general assembly saw no security but in asserting the power of the people, and constituting the government on the expression of their will. Accordingly, on the twelfth of March, 1660, just one day before that memorable session of Virginia, when the people of the Ancient Dominion adopted a similar system of independent legislation, the representatives of Maryland, convened in the house of Robert Slye, voted themselves a lawful assembly, without dependence on any other power in the province. The burgesses of Virginia had assumed to themselves the election of the council; the burgesses of Maryland refused to acknowledge the rights of the body claiming to be an upper house. In Virginia, Berkeley yielded to the public will; in Maryland, Fendall permitted the power of the people to be proclaimed. The representatives of Maryland, having thus successfully settled the government, and hoping for tranquillity after years of storms, passed an act making it felony to disturb the order which they had established. No authority would henceforward be recognized, except the assembly and the king of England. The light of peace promised to dawn upon the province.

Thus was Maryland, like Virginia, at the epoch of

the restoration, in full possession of liberty, based upon the practical assertion of the sovereignty of the people. Like Virginia, it had so nearly completed its institutions, that, till the epoch of its final separation from England, it hardly made any further advances towards freedom and independence.

Men love liberty, even if it be turbulent; and the colony increased, and flourished, and grew rich, in spite of domestic dissensions. Its population, in 1660, is variously estimated, at eight thousand and at twelve thousand. The country was dear to its inhabitants: there they desired to spend the remnant of their lives; there they coveted to make their graves.

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## CHAPTER XI.

### NEW ENGLAND AND THE REFORMATION.

THE settlement of New England was a result of the reformation; not of the contest between the new opinions and the authority of Rome, but of implacable differences between Protestant dissenters and the established Anglican church.

Who will venture to measure the consequences of actions by the apparent humility or the remoteness of their origin? The mysterious influence of that Power which enchains the destinies of states, overruling the decisions of sovereigns and the forethought of statesmen, often deduces the greatest events from the least commanding causes. A Genoese adventurer, discovering America, changed the commerce of the world; an obscure German, inventing the printing-press, rendered possible the universal diffusion of intelligence; an Augustine monk, denouncing indulgences, introduced a schism in religion, and changed the foundations of

European politics; a young French refugee, — skilled alike in theology and civil law, in the duties of magistrates and the dialectics of religious controversy, — entering the republic of Geneva, and conforming its ecclesiastical discipline to the principles of republican simplicity, established a party, of which Englishmen became members, and New England the asylum. The enfranchisement of mind from spiritual despotism led directly to inquiries into the nature of civil government; and the doctrines of popular liberty, which sheltered their infancy in the wildernesses of the newly-discovered continent, within the short space of two centuries, have infused themselves into the life-blood of every rising state from Labrador to Chili.

The trading company of the west of England, incorporated, in 1606, in the same patent with Virginia, possessed too narrow resources or too little enterprise for success in establishing colonies. The Spaniards, affecting an exclusive right of navigation in the seas of the new hemisphere, captured and confiscated a vessel which Popham, the chief justice of England, and Gorges, the governor of Plymouth, had, with some others, equipped for discovery. But a second and almost simultaneous expedition from Bristol encountered no disasters; and the voyagers, on their return, increased public confidence, by renewing the favorable reports of the country they had visited. The spirit of adventure was not suffered to slumber; the lord chief justice displayed persevering vigor, for his honor was interested in the success of the company which his influence had contributed to establish; Gorges, the companion and friend of Raleigh, was still reluctant to surrender his sanguine hopes of fortune and domains in America; and, in 1607, two ships were despatched to Northern Virginia, commanded by Raleigh Gilbert, and bearing emigrants for a plantation under the presidency of George Popham. After a tedious voyage, the adventurers, in August, reached the coast of America near the mouth of the Kennebec, and, offering public



thanks to God for their safety, began their settlement under the auspices of religion, with a government framed as if for a permanent colony. Rude cabins, a storehouse, and some slight fortifications, were rapidly prepared, and the ships sailed for England in December, leaving forty-five emigrants in the plantation, which was named St. George. But the winter was intensely cold; the natives, at first friendly, became restless; the storehouse caught fire, and part of the provisions was consumed; the emigrants grew weary of their solitude; they lost Popham, their president, "the only one of the company that died there;" the ships which revisited the settlement with supplies, brought news of the death of the chief justice, the most vigorous friend of the settlement in England; and Gilbert, the sole in command at St. George, had, by the decease of his brother, become heir to an estate which invited his presence. So the plantation was abandoned; the colonists, returning to England, "did coyne many excuses," and sought to conceal their own deficiency of spirit by spreading exaggerated accounts of the rugged poverty of the soil, and the inhospitable severity of the climate.

The fisheries and the fur trade were not relinquished; vessels were annually employed in traffic with the Indians; and once, at least, perhaps oftener, a part of a ship's company remained during a winter on the American coast. But new hopes were awakened, when, in April, 1614, Smith, — who had already obtained distinction in Virginia, and who had, with rare sagacity, discovered, and, with unceasing firmness, asserted, that colonization was the true policy of England, — with two ships, set sail for the coast north of the lands granted by the Virginia patent. The expedition was a private adventure of "four merchants of London and himself," and was very successful. The freights were profitable; the health of the mariners did not suffer; and the whole voyage was accomplished in less than seven months. While the sailors were busy with

their hooks and lines, Smith examined the shores from the Penobscot to Cape Cod, prepared a map of the coast, and named the country New England, — a title which Prince Charles confirmed. The French could boast, with truth, that New France had been colonized before New England obtained a name; Port Royal was older than Plymouth, Quebec than Boston.

Encouraged by commercial success, Smith next endeavored, in the employment of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and of friends in London, members of the Plymouth company, to establish a colony. Sixteen men were all whom the adventurers destined for the occupation of New England. The attempt was unsuccessful. Smith was forced by extreme tempests to return. Again renewing his enterprise, he was, at last, intercepted by French pirates. His ship was taken away; he himself escaped alone, in an open boat, from the harbor of Rochelle. With unwearied enthusiasm, he next published a map and a description of New England, and spent many months in visiting the merchants and gentry of the west of England, to excite their zeal for enterprise in America. He proposed to the cities, mercantile profits, to be realized in short and safe voyages; to the noblemen, vast dominions; to men of small means, his earnestness drew a lively picture of the rapid advancement of fortune by colonial industry, of the abundance of game, the delights of unrestrained liberty, the pleasures to be derived from “angling and crossing the sweet air from isle to isle, over the silent streams of a calm sea.” The western company began to form plans of colonization; Smith was appointed admiral of the country for life; and a renewal of the letters patent, with powers analogous to those possessed by the southern company, became an object of eager solicitation.

But a new charter was not obtained without vigorous opposition. “Much difference there was betwixt the Londoners and the Westerlings,” since each party was striving to engross all the profits to be derived from America; while the interests of the nation were up-

held by others, who were desirous that no monopoly should be conceded to either company. The remonstrances of the Virginia corporation, and a transient regard for the rights of the country, could delay, but not defeat, a measure that was sustained by the personal favorites of the monarch. After two years' entreaty, the ambitious adventurers gained every thing which they had solicited; and, in November, 1620, King James issued to forty of his subjects, some of them members of his household and his government, the most wealthy and powerful of the English nobility, a patent, which in American annals, and even in the history of the world, has but one parallel. The adventurers and their successors were incorporated as "The Council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering and governing New England, in America." The territory conferred on the patentees in absolute property, with unlimited jurisdiction, the sole powers of legislation, the appointment of all officers and all forms of government, extended, in breadth, from the fortieth to the forty-eighth degree of north latitude, and, in length, from the Atlantic to the Pacific; that is to say, nearly all the inhabited British possessions to the north of the United States, all New England, New York, half of New Jersey, very nearly all Pennsylvania, and the whole of the country to the west of these states, comprising, and, at the time, believed to comprise, much more than a million of square miles, and capable of sustaining far more than two hundred millions of inhabitants, were, by a single signature of King James, given away to a corporation within the realm, composed of but forty individuals.

The grant was absolute and exclusive: it conceded the land and islands, the rivers and the harbors, the mines and the fisheries. No regard was shown for the liberties of the future inhabitants of the colony; they were to be ruled, without their own consent, by the corporation in England. The patent yielded every thing to the avarice of the corporation. The very extent of

the grant rendered it of little value. Emigration was delayed through fear of infringing the rights of a powerful company. The jealousy of the English nation, incensed at the concession of monopolies by the royal prerogative, prompted the house of commons to question the validity of the grant. While the English monopolists were wrangling about their exclusive privileges, the first permanent colony on the soil of New England was established without the knowledge of the corporation, and without the aid of King James.

The Reformation in England — an event which had been long and gradually prepared among the people by the opinions and followers of Wickliffe, and in the government by increasing and successful resistance to the usurpations of ecclesiastical jurisdiction — was at length abruptly established during the reign, and in conformity with the passions, of a despotic monarch. The acknowledgment of the right of private judgment, far from being the cause of the separation from Rome, was one of its latest fruits.

In England, so far was the freedom of inquiry from being recognized as a right, that the means of forming a judgment on religious subjects was denied. The act of supremacy, which, in 1534, severed the English nation from the Roman see, contained no clause favorable to religious liberty. It was but a vindication of the sovereign franchise of the English monarch against foreign interference. It did not aim at enfranchising the English church, far less the English people, or the English mind. The king of England became the pope in his own dominions; and heresy was still accounted the greatest of all crimes. The right of correcting errors of religious faith became, by the suffrage of parliament, a branch of the royal prerogative; and, as active minds among the people were continually proposing new schemes of doctrine, a vindictive statute was, after great opposition in parliament, enacted “for abolishing diversity of opinions.” All the Roman Catholic doctrines were asserted, except the supremacy of Rome.

It was Henry's pride to defy the authority of the Roman bishop, and yet to enforce the doctrines of the Roman church. He disdained submission, and detested heresy.

Nor was Henry VIII. slow to sustain his new prerogatives. He rejected the advice of the commons, as of "brutes and inexperienced folks," of men as unfit to advise him as "blind men are to judge of colors." According to ancient usage, no sentence of death, awarded by the ecclesiastical courts, could be carried into effect, until a writ had been obtained from the king. The heretic might appeal from the atrocity of the priest to the mercy of the sovereign. But now, what hope could remain, when the two authorities were united, and the law, which had been enacted as a protection of the subject, was become the powerful instrument of tyranny! Not the forms of worship merely, but the minds of men, were declared subordinate to the government; faith, not less than ceremony, was to vary with the acts of parliament. Death awaited the Catholic who denied the king's supremacy, and the Protestant who doubted his creed. The Bible had been widely circulated, and read by every class; in the Bible was found the doctrine, dear to the people, of the unity of the human race, and consequently of the natural equality of its members. The study of the Bible foreboded a revolution. In the latter part of his life, therefore, Henry revoked the general permission of reading the Scriptures, and limited the privilege to merchants and nobles. But the awakening intelligence of a great nation could not be terrified into a passive lethargy. The environs of the court displayed no resistance to the capricious monarch; a subservient parliament yielded him absolute authority in religion; but the advancing genius of the age, though it sometimes faltered in its progress along untried paths, steadily demanded the emancipation of the public mind.

The accession of Edward VI., in 1547, led the way to the establishment of Protestantism in England, and, at the same time, gave life to the germs of the differ-



ence which was eventually to divide the English. A change in the reformation had already been effected among the Swiss, and especially at Geneva. Luther had based his reform upon the sublime but simple truth which lies at the basis of morals—the superiority of right dispositions over ceremonial exactness; or, as he expressed it, justification by faith alone. But he hesitated to deny the real presence, and was indifferent to the observance of external ceremonies. Calvin, with sterner dialectics, sanctioned by the influence of the purest life, and by his power as the ablest writer of his age, attacked the Roman doctrines respecting the communion, and esteemed as a commemoration the rite which the Catholics revered as a sacrifice. Luther acknowledged princes as his protectors, and, in the ceremonies of worship, favored magnificence as an aid to devotion; Calvin was the guide of Swiss republics, and avoided, in their churches, all appeals to the senses as a crime against religion. Luther resisted the Roman church for its immorality; Calvin for its idolatry. Luther exposed the folly of superstition, ridiculed the hair-shirt and the scourge, the purchased indulgence, and the dearly-bought masses for the dead; Calvin shrunk from their criminality with impatient horror. Luther permitted the cross and the taper, pictures and images, as things of indifference; Calvin demanded a spiritual worship in its utmost purity.

The reign of Edward, giving safety to Protestants, soon brought to light that both sects of the reformed church existed in England. The one party, sustained by Cranmer, desired moderate reforms; the other, countenanced by the Protector, announced the austere principle, that not even a ceremony should be tolerated, unless it was enjoined by the word of God. And this was Puritanism. The Church of England, at least in its ceremonial part, was established by an act of parliament, or a royal ordinance; Puritanism, zealous for independence, admitted no voucher but the Bible—a fixed rule, which it would allow neither parliament, nor



hierarchy, nor king, to interpret. The Puritans adhered to the Established Church as far as their interpretations of the Bible seemed to warrant; but no farther, not even in things of indifference. They would yield nothing in religion to the temporal sovereign; they would retain nothing that seemed a relic of the religion which they had renounced. They asserted the equality of the plebeian clergy, and directed their fiercest attacks against the divine right of bishops, as the only remaining strong-hold of superstition. The Churchmen differed from the ancient forms as little as possible; the Puritans could not sever themselves too widely from the Roman usages, and sought glaring occasions to display their antipathy. The surplice and the square cap, for several generations, remained things of importance; for they became the badges of a party. The unwilling use of them was evidence of religious servitude.

The reign of Mary involved both parties in danger; but they whose principles wholly refused communion with Rome, were placed in the greatest peril. Rogers and Hooper, the first martyrs of Protestant England, were Puritans; and, while Cranmer, the head and founder of the English Church, desired, almost to the last, by delays, recantations, and entreaties, to save himself from the horrid death to which he was doomed, the Puritan martyrs never sought, by concessions, to escape the flames. For them, compromise was apostasy. The offer of pardon could not induce Hooper to waver, nor the pains of a lingering death impair his fortitude. He suffered by a very slow fire, and at length died as quietly as a child in his bed.

A large part of the English clergy returned to their submission to the see of Rome; others firmly adhered to the reformation, which they had adopted from conviction; and very many, who had taken advantage of the laws of Edward sanctioning the marriage of the clergy, had, in their wives and children, given hostages for their fidelity to the Protestant cause. Multitudes, therefore, hurried into exile to escape the grasp of vin-

dictive bigotry ; but even in foreign lands, two parties among the emigrants were visible ; and the sympathies of a common exile could not immediately eradicate the rancor of religious divisions. The one party aimed at renewing abroad the forms of discipline which had been sanctioned by the English parliaments in the reign of Edward ; the Puritans, on the contrary, endeavored to sweeten exile by a complete emancipation from ceremonies which they had reluctantly observed. But time, the great calmer of human passions, softened the asperities of controversy ; and a reconciliation of the two parties was prepared by concessions to the Puritans. For the circumstances of their abode on the continent were well adapted to strengthen the influence of the stricter sect. Their love for the rigorous austerity of a spiritual worship was confirmed by the stern simplicity of the Swiss republics ; and some of them had enjoyed in Geneva the instructions and the friendship of Calvin.

On the death of Mary, the Puritans returned to England, with still stronger antipathies to the forms of worship and the vestures, which they now repelled as associated with the cruelties of Roman intolerance at home, and which they had seen so successfully rejected by the churches of Switzerland. The pledges which had been given at Frankfort and Geneva, to promote further reforms, were redeemed. But the controversy did not remain a dispute about ceremonies ; it was modified by the personal character of the English sovereign, and became identified with the political parties in the state. The first act of parliament in the reign of Elizabeth declared the supremacy of the crown in the state ecclesiastical ; and the uniformity of common prayer was soon established under the severest penalties. In these enactments, the common zeal to assert the Protestant ascendancy left out of sight the scruples of the Puritans.

The early associations of the younger daughter of Henry VIII. led her to respect the faith of the Cath-

olics, and to love the magnificence of their worship. She publicly thanked one of her chaplains, who had asserted the real presence; and, on a revision of the creed of the English Church, the Catholic doctrine of the eucharist, which, by the statutes of the realm in the reign of Edward VI., Englishmen were punished for believing, and in that of Henry VIII. were burned at the stake for denying, was left undecided, as a question of national indifference. She long struggled to retain images, the crucifix, and tapers, in her private chapel; she was inclined to offer prayers to the Virgin; she favored the invocation of saints; she insisted upon the continuance of the celibacy of the clergy, and, during her reign, their marriages took place only by connivance.

Besides the influence of early education, the love of authority would not permit Elizabeth to cherish the new sect among Protestants — a sect which had risen in defiance of all ordinary powers of the world, and which could justify its existence only on a strong claim to natural liberty. The Catholics were friends to monarchy, if not to the monarch; but the Puritans were the harbingers of a revolution. They demanded that civil government should conform to the Divine Law, of which they claimed to be the interpreters. The hierarchy charged them with seeking a popular government; and Elizabeth openly declared, that they were more perilous than the Romanists. At a time when the readiest mode of reaching the minds of the common people was through the pulpit, and when the preachers would often speak with plainness and homely energy on all the events of the day, their claim to “the liberty of prophesying” was similar to the modern demand of the liberty of the press; and the free exercise of private judgment threatened not only to disturb the uniformity of the national worship, but to impair the royal authority, and erect the dictates of conscience into a tribunal, before which sovereigns might be arraigned. The Puritan clergy were fast becoming tribunes of the people,

and the pulpit was the place for freedom of rebuke and discussion.

The popular voice was not favorable to a rigorous enforcement of the ceremonies. Some of the best English statesmen of the day favored moderation. Grindall had so sincere a reluctance to persecute, that he was himself charged with secretly favoring Puritanism. The temper of the court is marked by his reply. He denied the guilt of lenity as the calumny of "some incarnate, never-sleeping devil," and claimed sincerity in persecution as essential to his good name. Yet Grindall was by nature averse to violence, and when placed at the head of the English clergy, continued till his death, in 1583, to merit the censure of forbearance.

The Puritans, as a body, had avoided a separation from the Church. They had desired a reform, and not a schism. There began to grow up among them a class of men who carried opposition to the extreme, and, with fanatical sincerity, refused to hold communion with a church of which they condemned the ceremonies and the government. Henry VIII. had enfranchised the English crown; Elizabeth had enfranchised the Anglican Church: the Puritans claimed equality for the plebeian clergy; the Independents asserted the liberty of each individual mind to discover "truth in the word of God." The reformation had begun in England with the monarch; had extended among the nobility; had been developed under the guidance of a hierarchy; and had but slowly penetrated the masses. The party of the Independents was plebeian in its origin, and carried the principle of intellectual enfranchisement from authority into the houses of the common people. Its adherents were "neither gentry nor beggars." The most noisy advocate of the new opinion was Brown, a man of rashness, possessing neither true courage nor constancy; zealous, but fickle; dogmatical, but shallow. He has acquired historical notoriety, because, in 1582, his hot-headed indiscretion urged him to undertake the defence of separation. He suffered much oppression;

he was often imprisoned; he was finally compelled to go into exile. The congregation which he had gathered, and which banished itself with him, was composed of persons hasty and unstable like himself; it was soon dispersed by its own dissensions. Brown eventually purchased a living in the English Church by conformity. "He forsook the Lord, so the Lord forsook him." The principles of which the intrepid assertion had alone given him distinction, lay deeply rooted in the public mind; and, as they had not derived life from his support, they did not suffer from his apostasy.

The accession of Whitgift, in 1583, marks the epoch of extreme and consistent rigor in the public councils. Subscriptions were then required to points which before had been eluded; the kingdom rung with the complaints for deprivation; the most learned and diligent of the ministry were driven from their places; while those who were introduced to read the liturgy, were so ignorant, that few of them could preach. Did men listen to their deprived pastors in the recesses of forests, the offence, if discovered, was visited by fines and imprisonment. A court of high commission was established for the detection and punishment of non-conformity, and was invested with powers as arbitrary as those of the Spanish inquisitors. Two men were hanged for distributing Brown's tract on the liberty of prophesying; that is, a tract on the liberty of the pulpit.

The party thus persecuted were the most efficient opponents of Popery. "The Puritans," said Burleigh, "are over squeamish and nice, yet their careful catechizing and diligent preaching lessen and diminish the Papistical numbers." But for them, the old religion would have retained the affections of the multitude. How, then, could the party be subdued? Extermination could alone produce conformity. The teachers of new truths have often been exiled or slain; and now that a sect was become the depository of the principles of reform, by act of parliament the sect was banished, or its obstinate members menaced with death.



Holland offered an asylum against the bitter severity of this statute. A religious society, founded by the Independents at Amsterdam, continued to exist for a century, and served as a point of hope for the exiles; while, through the influence of Whitgift, in England, Barrow and Greenwood, men of unimpeached loyalty, were selected as examples, and in 1593 hanged at Tyburn for their opinions.

But the number of the non-conforming clergy, after forty years of molestation, had increased; their popularity was more deeply rooted, and their enmity to the established order was irreconcilable. They began to constitute a powerful political party; they inquired into the nature of government; in parliament they opposed monopolies, limited the royal prerogatives, and demanded a reform of ecclesiastical abuses. "The precious spark of liberty," says an historian who was never accused of favoring the Puritans, "had been kindled and was preserved by the Puritans alone." Popular liberty, which used to animate its friends by appeals to the examples of ancient republics, now listened to a voice from the grave of Wickliffe, from the ashes of Huss, from the vigils of Calvin.

The accession of King James, in April, 1603, would, it was believed, introduce a milder system; and the Puritans might hope even for favor. But the personal character of the new monarch could not inspire confidence.

The pupil of Buchanan was not destitute of learning nor unskilled in rhetoric. Protected from profligate debauchery by the austerity of public morals in Scotland, and incapable of acting the part of a statesman, he had aimed at the reputation of a "most learned clerk," and had been so successful, that Bacon, with equivocal flattery, pronounced him incomparable for learning among kings; and Sully, who knew him well, esteemed him the wisest fool in Europe. Demonstrating with erudition the reality of witchcraft, he could tell "why the devil doth work more with auncient women



than with others ;” and hardly a year of his reign went by, but some helpless crone perished on the gallows, to satisfy the dialectics of the royal author. He prided himself on his skill in theological learning, and challenged the praise of Europe as a subtile controversialist. With the whole force of English diplomacy, he suggested the propriety of burning an Arminian professor of Holland, while he, at the same time, refuted the errors of the heretic in a harmless tract. He indulged his vanity in a public discussion, and, when the argument was over, procured himself the gratification of burning his opponent at the stake.

The life of James, as a monarch, was full of meanesses. His egregious vanity desired perpetual flattery ; and no hyperboles excited his distrust. He boasted that England, even in the days of Elizabeth, had been governed by his influence ; by proclamation, he forbade the people to talk of state affairs ; and in reply to the complaint of his commons, he insisted that he was, and would be, the father of their country.

Possessing neither true judgment nor courage, King James was false from imbecility, and sometimes vindicated falsehood, as the appropriate craft of a king. But he was an awkward liar, rather than a skilful dissembler. At home, afraid of his wife ; in council, easily intimidated by vulgar insolence ; in prayer, frequent and long, not from conscience, but from fear ; by title a king, by theory a despot, — he was never, for a day, the master of his actions. His mind had been early and deeply imbued with the doctrines of Calvinism ; but he loved arbitrary power better than the tenets of Knox ; and, when the Arminians in England favored royalty, King James became an Arminian. He steadily adhered to his love of flattery and his love of ease ; but he had no fixed principles of conduct or belief.

Such was the king of England, to whose decision the Puritans must refer the consideration of their claims. He had called the church of Scotland “the sincerest kirk of the world,” and had censured the service of

England as "an evil-said mass." Would he retain for Puritans the favor which he had promised?

There were not wanting statesmen who favored a liberal toleration, and esteemed controversy "the wind by which truth is winnowed." But what relation could subsist between such philosophy and the selfish arrogance of King James? The borders of Scotland were hardly passed, before James began to identify the interests of the English Church with those of his prerogative. "No bishop, no king," was a maxim often in his mouth. At the conference with the Puritans at Hampton Court, in January, 1604, the king refused to discuss the question of the power of the church in things indifferent:—"I will have one doctrine, one discipline, one religion in substance and in ceremony. Never speak more to that point, how far you are bound to obey."

The Puritans desired permission to hold meetings, with the liberty of free discussions; but the king promptly interrupted them:—"You are aiming at a Scot's presbytery, which agrees with monarchy as well as God and the devil." Turning to the bishops, he avowed his trust in the hierarchy as the firmest support of the throne. Unconscious that "the vipers" were so numerous, he added—"I will make the Puritans conform, or I will harry them out of the land, or else worse,"—"only hang them; that's all."

On the last day of the conference, the king concluded that, "if any would not be quiet, and show their obedience, they were worthy to be hanged;" and it was fixed, that a time should be set, within which each one should conform or be removed.

But the parliament soon assembled; and in that body the party opposed to the Church asserted their liberties with such tenacity and vigor, that King James began to hate them as imbittering royalty itself. "I had rather live like a hermit in the forest," he writes, "than be a king over such a people as the pack of Puritans are, that overrules the lower house." In vain he had offered "to meet the Catholics in the mid-way;" in vain he cen-

sured "the sect of Puritans as insufferable in any well-governed commonwealth," and worthy of fire for their opinions. The commons of England resolutely favored the sect which was their natural ally in the struggle against despotism.

Far different was the spirit which actuated the convocation of the clergy. They required conformity with unrelenting rigor. The convocation of 1636, in a series of canons, denied every doctrine of popular rights, asserting the superiority of the king to the parliament and the laws, and, in their zeal for absolute monarchy, admitting no exception to the duty of passive obedience. Thus the opponents of the Church became the sole guardians of popular liberty; the lines of the contending parties were distinctly drawn; the Established Church and the monarch, on the one side, were arrayed against the Puritan clergy and the people. A war of opinion began; immediate success was obtained by the established authority; but the contest would be transmitted to the next generation. Would victory ultimately belong to the Churchmen or to the Puritans? to the monarch or the people? The interests of European liberty were at issue on the contest.

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## CHAPTER XII.

### THE PILGRIM FATHERS.

"THE gospel is not tied to place, but moves freely through the world, like the star which beamed on the wizards, and, as they journeyed from the East, guided them where the Savior lay. We have power to change our country, and elsewhere pursue truth. Do not dispute with the sovereign for place, but emigrate in company. Let the people elect a pastor, and support him

at their own charge; if the magistrate interferes, let the pastor, whom the people have chosen, take to flight, and let them that will, go with him." Such was the counsel of Luther to the insurgent peasants of Germany; after nearly a century, the counsel was carried into effect by a rural community of Englishmen.

Towards the close of the reign of Elizabeth, there had existed in the north of England a congregation of men who despaired of effecting in the Church of England the changes which their consciences demanded, and preferred, choosing John Robinson as their pastor, "whatever it might cost them, as the Lord's free people, to join themselves, by covenant, into a church state." Calvinists in their faith, according to the straitest system, they renounced all attachment to human authority, and reserved an entire and perpetual liberty of forming their principles and practice from the light of free inquiry.

Harassed by imprisonments, search-warrants, trivial prosecutions, and the various malice of intolerance, the peaceful farmers who composed "the church" despaired of finding rest in England, and, in 1607, resolved to seek safety in exile.

Holland, in its controversy with Spain, had displayed republican virtues, and, in the reformation of its churches, had inclined to the discipline of Calvin. England had been its ally in its greatest dangers; the States, at one time, had almost become a part of the English dominions; the "cautionary" towns were still garrisoned by English regiments, some of which were friendly to the separatists; and William Brewster, the ruling elder of the church, had himself served as a diplomatist in the Low Countries. Common sympathies, therefore, attracted the emigrants to Holland.

The departure from England was effected with much suffering and hazard. The first attempt was prevented; but the magistrates checked the ferocity of the subordinate officers, and, after a month's arrest of the whole company, seven only of the principal men were detained in prison.

In the spring of 1608, the design was renewed. An unfrequented heath, in Lincolnshire, was the place of secret meeting. As if it had been a crime to escape from persecution, the embarkation was to be made under the shelter of darkness. After having encountered a night storm, just as a boat was bearing a part of the emigrants to their ship, a company of horsemen appeared in pursuit, and seized on the helpless women and children who had not yet adventured on the surf. "Pitiful it was to see the heavy case of these poor women in distress; what weeping and crying on every side!" But when they were apprehended, it seemed impossible to punish and imprison wives and children for no other crime than that they would go with their husbands and fathers. They could not be sent home, for "they had no homes to go to;" so that, at last, the magistrates were "glad to be rid of them on any terms," "though, in the mean time, they, poor souls! endured misery enough." Such was the flight of Robinson and Brewster, and their followers, from the land of their fathers.

Their arrival in Amsterdam was but the beginning of the eventful wanderings of the PILGRIMS. They soon removed to Leyden, where, for eleven years, they continued to live in great harmony. A well-written apology for their church was published by Robinson, who, in the controversy with Arminianism, was selected as the champion of orthodoxy; their fame attracted new members from England; their congregation inspired the nuncio of Rome with respect.

Yet they were restless from the consciousness of ability to act a more important part in the great drama of humanity. The voyages of Gosnold, and Smith, and Hudson; the enterprise of Raleigh, and Delaware, and Gorges; the compilations of Eden, and Willes, and Hakluyt, — had filled the commercial world with wonder; while weighty reasons, often and seriously discussed, inclined the Pilgrims to change their abode. They had been bred to the pursuits of husbandry, and



in Holland they were compelled to learn mechanical trades; Brewster became a printer; Bradford, who had been educated as a farmer, learned the art of dyeing silk. The language and manners of the Dutch never became pleasantly familiar. The climate was not grateful to the aged; and close occupation in mechanical trades was detrimental to the young. The dissoluteness of disbanded soldiers and mariners filled them with anxiety, lest their children should become contaminated; and they were moved by the honorable ambition of becoming founders of a state.

“Upon their talk of removing, sundry of the Dutch would have them go under them, and made them large offers;” but the Pilgrims were attached to their nationality as Englishmen, and to the language of their line. A secret, but deeply-seated love of their country led them to the generous purpose of recovering the protection of England by enlarging her dominions. They were “restless” with the desire to live once more under the government of their native land.

And whither should they go to acquire a province for King James? The beautiful fertility and immeasurable wealth of Guiana had been exhibited in dazzling colors by the brilliant eloquence of Raleigh. But they looked rather towards Virginia; and Robert Cushman and John Carver repaired to England to obtain consent of the London company to their emigration. The envoys were favorably received; and a patent and ample liberties were cheerfully promised. The Pilgrims, following the principles of democratic liberty, in December, 1617, transmitted to the company their request, signed by the hands of the greatest part of the congregation. “We are well weaned,” added Robinson and Brewster, “from the delicate milk of our mother country, and inured to the difficulties of a strange land; the people are industrious and frugal. We are knit together as a body in a most sacred covenant of the Lord, of the violation whereof we make great conscience, and by virtue whereof we hold ourselves straitly tied to all



care of each other's good, and of the whole. It is not with us as with men whom small things can discourage."

The messengers of the Pilgrims, sure of the friendship of the Virginia company, sought also the favor of the king. But in vain did they transmit an account of their peaceful principles. Nothing could be obtained for the wilds of America, beyond an informal promise of neglect.

The bigotry of the English hierarchy was a great discouragement to the church at Leyden. The dissensions in the Virginia corporation occasioned further delay; but, in 1619, through the influence of Sir Edwin Sandys, the friend of the Puritans, a patent was granted to the Pilgrims under the company's seal. It was taken in the name of one who failed to accompany the expedition, and was never of the least service.

One more negotiation remained to be completed. As the Pilgrims were not possessed of sufficient capital for the execution of their schemes, the agents from Leyden formed a connection between their employers and men of business in London. The whole company constituted a numerous partnership; the services of each emigrant were rated as a capital of ten pounds, and belonged to the company; all profits were to be reserved till the end of seven years, when the whole amount, and all houses and land, gardens and fields, were to be divided among the shareholders according to their respective interests. The London merchant, who risked one hundred pounds, would receive for his money tenfold more than the penniless emigrant for his entire services. This arrangement threatened a seven years' check to the pecuniary prosperity of the community; yet, as it did not interfere with civil rights, or religion, it did not intimidate the Pilgrims.

And now, in 1620, the English at Leyden, trusting in God and in themselves, made ready for their departure. The *Speedwell*, a ship of sixty tons, was purchased in London; the *Mayflower*, a vessel of one

hundred and eighty tons, was hired in England. These could hold but a minority of the congregation; and Robinson was therefore detained at Leyden, while Brewster, the teaching elder, conducted the emigrants. Every enterprise of the Pilgrims began from God. A solemn fast was held. "Let us seek of God," said they, "a right way for us, and for our little ones, and for all our substance." Anticipating their high destiny, and the sublime doctrines of liberty that would grow out of the principles on which their religious tenets were established, Robinson gave them a farewell, breathing a freedom of opinion, and an independence of authority, such as then were hardly known in the world: —

"I charge you, before God and his blessed angels, that you follow me no farther than you have seen me follow the Lord Jesus Christ. The Lord has more truth yet to break forth out of his holy word. I cannot sufficiently bewail the condition of the reformed churches, who are come to a period in religion, and will go at present no farther than the instruments of their reformation. — Luther and Calvin were great and shining lights in their times, yet they penetrated not into the whole counsel of God. — I beseech you, remember it, — 'tis an article of your church covenant, — that you be ready to receive whatever truth shall be made known to you from the written word of God."

The Pilgrims were accompanied by most of the brethren from Leyden to Delft-Haven, where the night of the twenty-first of July was passed "in friendly and Christian converse." As morning dawned, Carver, Bradford, and Winslow, Brewster, the ruling elder, Allerton, and the brave and faithful Standish, with their equal associates, — a feeble band for a perilous enterprise, — bade farewell to Holland; while Robinson, kneeling in prayer by the sea-side, gave to their embarkation the sanctity of a religious rite. A prosperous wind soon wafts the vessel to Southampton, and, in a

fortnight, the *Mayflower* and the *Speedwell*, freighted with the first colony for New England, leave Southampton for America. But they had not gone far upon the Atlantic before the smaller vessel was found to need repairs; and they entered the port of Dartmouth. After the lapse of eight precious days, they again weigh anchor; the coast of England recedes; already they are unfurling their sails on the broad ocean, when the captain of the *Speedwell*, with his company, dismayed at the dangers of the enterprise, once more pretends that his ship is too weak for the service. They put back to Plymouth, to dismiss their treacherous companions, though the loss of the vessel was "very grievous and discouraging." The timid and the hesitating were all freely allowed to abandon the expedition. Having thus winnowed their numbers of the cowardly and the disaffected, the little band, not of resolute men only, but wives, some far gone in pregnancy, children, infants, — a floating village, yet, in all, but one hundred and one souls, — went on board the single ship, which was hired only to convey them across the Atlantic; and, on the sixth day of September, 1620, thirteen years after the first colonization of Virginia, two months before the concession of the grand charter of Plymouth, without any warrant from the sovereign of England, without any useful charter from a corporate body, the passengers in the *Mayflower* set sail for a new world, where the past could offer no favorable auguries.

Had New England been colonized immediately on the discovery of the American continent, the old English institutions would have been planted under the powerful influence of the Roman Catholic religion; had the settlement been made under Elizabeth, it would have been before activity of the popular mind in religion had conducted to a corresponding activity of mind in politics. The Pilgrims were Englishmen, Protestants, exiles for religion; men disciplined by misfortune, cultivated by opportunities of extensive observation, equal

in rank as in rights, and bound by no code, but that which was imposed by religion, or might be created by the public will.

The eastern coast of the United States abounds in beautiful and convenient harbors, in majestic bays and rivers: the first Virginia colony, sailing along the shores of North Carolina, was, by a favoring storm, driven into the magnificent Bay of the Chesapeake; the Pilgrims, having selected as the place for their settlement the mouth of the Hudson, the best position on the whole coast, were, by the ignorance and self-will of their captain, conducted to the most barren and inhospitable part of Massachusetts. After a long and boisterous voyage of sixty-three days, during which one person had died, they espied land, and, in two days more, on the ninth of November, were safely moored in the harbor of Cape Cod.

Yet, before they landed, the manner in which their government should be constituted, was debated; and they formed themselves into a body politic by a solemn voluntary compact: —

“In the name of God, amen; we, whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign King James, having undertaken, for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and honor of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do, by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God, and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and, by virtue hereof, to enact, constitute, and frame, such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most convenient for the general good of the colony. Unto which we promise all due submission and obedience.”

This instrument was signed by the whole body of men, forty-one in number, who, with their families, constituted the one hundred and one, the whole colony,

“the proper democracy,” that arrived in New England. Here was the birth of popular constitutional liberty. The middle age had been familiar with charters and constitutions; but they had been merely compacts for immunities, partial enfranchisements, patents of nobility, concessions of municipal privileges, or limitations of the sovereign power in favor of feudal institutions. In the cabin of the Mayflower, humanity recovered its rights, and instituted government on the basis of “equal laws” for “the general good.” John Carver was immediately and unanimously chosen governor for the year.

Men who emigrate, even in well-inhabited districts, pray that their journey may not be in winter. Wasted by the rough and wearisome voyage, ill supplied with provisions, the English fugitives found themselves, at the opening of winter, on a barren and bleak coast, in a severe climate, with the ocean on one side, and the wilderness on the other. There were none to show them kindness or bid them welcome. The nearest French settlement was at Port Royal; it was five hundred miles to the English plantation in Virginia. As they attempted to disembark, the water was found so shallow, that they were forced to wade; and, in the freezing weather, the very act of getting on land sowed the seeds of consumption and inflammatory colds. The bitterness of mortal disease was their welcome to the inhospitable shore.

The season was already fast bringing winter, and the spot for the settlement remained to be chosen. Standish and Bradford, and others, impatient of the delay, determined to explore the country by land. But what discoveries could be made by wading through the deep sands that divide Provincetown from Truro? The first expedition in the shallop was likewise unsuccessful; “some of the people, that died that winter, took the original of their death” in the enterprise; “for it snowed and did blow all the day and night, and froze withal.” The men who were set on shore “were tired with marching up and



down the steep hills and deep valleys, which lay half a foot thick with snow." A heap of maize was discovered; and further search led to a burial-place of the Indians; but they found "no more corn, nor any thing else but graves."

At length, on the sixth of December, old style, the shallop was again sent out, with Carver, Bradford, Winslow, Standish, and others, with eight or ten seamen. The cold was severe; the spray of the sea froze as it fell on them, and made their clothes like coats of iron. That day they reached Billingsgate Point, at the bottom of the Bay of Cape Cod, on the western shore of Wellfleet harbor. The next morning, the company divided; those on shore find a burial-place, graves, and four or five deserted wigwams, but neither people, nor any place inviting a settlement. Before night, the whole party met by the sea-side, and encamped on land together near Namsketet, or Great Meadow Creek.

The next day they rose at five; their morning prayers were finished, when, as the day dawned, a war-whoop and a flight of arrows announced an attack from Indians. They were of an Algonquin tribe, who knew the English as kidnappers; but the encounter was without further result. Again the boat's crew give thanks to God, and steer their bark along the coast for the distance of fifteen leagues. But no convenient harbor is discovered. The pilot of the boat, who had been in these regions before, gives assurance of a good one, which may be reached before night: and they follow his guidance. After some hours' sailing, a storm of snow and rain begins; the sea swells; the rudder breaks; the boat must now be steered with oars; the storm increases; night is at hand; to reach the harbor before dark, as much sail as possible is borne; the mast breaks into three pieces; the sail falls overboard; but the tide is favorable. The pilot, in dismay, would have run the boat on shore in a cove full of breakers. "About with her!" exclaimed a sailor, "or we are cast away." They get her about immediately, and, passing over the surf,



they enter a fair sound, and shelter themselves under the lee of a small rise of land. It is dark, and the rain beats furiously; yet the men are so wet, and cold, and weak, they slight the danger to be apprehended from the savages, and, after great difficulty, kindle a fire on shore.

Morning, as it dawned, showed the place to be a small island within the entrance of a harbor. The day was required for rest and preparations. Time was precious; the season advancing; their companions were left in suspense. The next day was the "Christian Sabbath." The Pilgrims kept it sacredly, though every consideration demanded haste.

On Monday, the eleventh day of December, old style, the exploring party of the forefathers land at Plymouth. A grateful posterity has marked the rock which first received their footsteps. The consequences of that day are constantly unfolding themselves, as time advances. It was the origin of New England; it was the planting of the New England institutions. Inquisitive historians have loved to mark every vestige of the Pilgrims; poets of the purest minds have commemorated their virtues; the noblest genius has been called into exercise to display their merits worthily, and to trace the consequences of their daring enterprise.

In four days, the Mayflower was safely moored in its harbor. In memory of the hospitalities which the company had received at the last English port from which they had sailed, this oldest New England colony obtained the name of Plymouth. The system of civil government had been established by common agreement; the character of the church had for many years been fixed by a sacred covenant. As the Pilgrims landed, their institutions were already perfected. Democratic liberty and independent Christian worship at once existed in America.

After some days, they began to build — a difficult task for men of whom one half were wasting away with consumptions and lung fevers. For the sake of haste, it was agreed that every man should build his

own house; but frost and foul weather were great hinderances: they could seldom work half of the week; and tenements were erected as they could be, in the short intervals of sunshine between showers of sleet and snow storms.

On the third of March, a south wind brought warm and fair weather. "The birds sang in the woods most pleasantly." But it was not till spring had far advanced, that the mortality began to cease. The record of misery was kept by the graves of the governor and half the company.

But if sickness ceased to prevail, the hardships of privation and want remained to be encountered. The distress was aggravated by the system of common property. After the harvest of 1623, there was no general want of food. In the spring of that year, it had been agreed that each family should plant for itself; and parcels of land, in proportion to the respective numbers, were assigned for culture, though not for inheritance. This arrangement produced contented labor and universal industry; "even women and children now went into the field to work." The next spring, every person obtained a little land in perpetual fee. The necessity of the case, and the common interest, demanded a slight departure from the severe agreement with the English merchants.

Where the Pilgrims landed, there were the traces of a previous population, but not one living inhabitant. Smokes from fires in the remote distance alone indicated the vicinity of natives. Miles Standish, "the best linguist" among the Pilgrims, as well as the best soldier, with an exploring party, was able to discover wigwams, but no tenants.

Yet, one day, in March, 1621, Samoset, an Indian who had learned a little English of the fishermen at Penobscot, boldly entered the town, and, passing to the rendezvous, exclaimed in English, "Welcome, Englishmen!" He belonged to the Wampanoags, a tribe which was destined to become memorable in the history of

New England. In the name of his nation, he bade the strangers possess the soil, which there was no one of the original occupants alive to claim. After some little negotiation, Massasoit himself, the sachem of the tribe possessing the country north of Narraganset Bay, and between the rivers of Providence and Taunton, came to visit the Pilgrims, who, with their wives and children, now amounted to no more than fifty. The chieftain of a race as yet so new to the Pilgrims, was received with all the ceremonies which the condition of the colony permitted. A treaty of friendship was soon completed in few and unequivocal terms. The parties promised to abstain from mutual injuries, and to deliver up offenders; the colonists were to receive assistance, if attacked; to render it, if Massasoit should be attacked unjustly. The treaty included the confederates of the sachem; it is the oldest act of diplomacy recorded in New England; it was concluded in a day, and, being founded on reciprocal interests, was sacredly kept for more than half a century.

The influence of the English over the aborigines was rapidly extended. A sachem, who menaced their safety, was himself compelled to sue for mercy; and in September, 1621, nine chieftains subscribed an instrument of submission to King James. The Bay of Massachusetts and harbor of Boston were fearlessly explored. Canonicus, the wavering sachem of the Narragansetts, had sent a bundle of arrows, wrapped in the skin of a rattlesnake, in token of hostility. But when Bradford stuffed the skin with powder and shot, and returned it, the chieftain desired rather to be in amity with a race of men whose weapons of war were so terrible.

Meantime a patent for land near Weymouth, the first plantation in Boston harbor, was obtained by a company of fur traders, and sixty men were sent over. Helpless at their arrival, they intruded themselves, for most of the summer, upon the unrequited hospitality of the people of Plymouth. In their plantation, they were soon reduced to necessity by their want of thrift; their in-

justice towards the Indians provoked hostility; and a plot was formed for the entire destruction of the English. But the grateful Massasoit revealed the design to his allies; and, in 1623, the planters at Weymouth were saved by the wisdom of the older colony and the intrepid gallantry of Standish. Some of the rescued men went to Plymouth; some sailed for England. One short year saw the beginning and end of the Weymouth plantation, which had had no higher object than mercantile adventure.

The danger from Indian hostilities was early removed; the partnership with English merchants occasioned greater inconvenience. The curse of usury, which always falls so heavily upon new settlements, did not spare them; for, being left without help from the partners, they were obliged to borrow money at fifty per cent. and at thirty per cent. interest. At last, the emigrants themselves succeeded in purchasing the entire rights of the English adventurers; the common property was equitably divided, and the cultivators of the soil became really freeholders; neither debts nor rent day troubled them.

The colonists of Plymouth had exercised self-government without the sanction of a royal patent. It was therefore in the virtues of the colonists themselves, that their institutions found a guaranty.

The progress of population was very slow. The lands in the vicinity were not fertile; and at the end of ten years the colony contained no more than three hundred souls. Few as were their numbers, they had struck deep root, and would have outlived every storm, even if they had been followed by no other colonies in New England. Hardly were they planted in America, when their enterprise began to take a wide range; before Massachusetts was settled, they had acquired rights at Cape Ann, as well as an extensive domain on the Kennebec; and they were the first to possess an English settlement on the banks of the Connecticut. The excellent Robinson died at Leyden: his heart was in

America, where his memory will never die. The remainder of his people, and with them his wife and children, emigrated, so soon as means could be provided to defray the costs. "To enjoy religious liberty was the known end of the first comers' great adventure into this remote wilderness;" and they desired no increase, but from the friends of their communion. Yet their residence in Holland, making them acquainted with various forms of Christianity, had emancipated them from bigotry; and they were disinclined to religious persecution.

The frame of civil government in the Old Colony was of the utmost simplicity. A governor was chosen by general suffrage, whose power, always subordinate to the general will, was, at the desire of Bradford, specially restricted by a council of five, and afterwards of seven, assistants. In the council, the governor had but a double vote. For more than eighteen years, "the whole body of the male inhabitants" constituted the legislature; the state was governed, like our towns, as a strict democracy; and the people were frequently convened to decide on executive not less than on judicial questions. At length, the increase of population, and its diffusion over a wider territory, led to the representative system, and each town sent its committee to the general court.

Through scenes of gloom and misery, the Pilgrims showed the way to an asylum for those who would go to the wilderness for the purity of religion or the liberty of conscience. Accustomed "in their native land to no more than a plain country life and the innocent trade of husbandry," they set the example of colonizing New England, and formed the mould for the civil and religious character of its institutions. Enduring every hardship themselves, they were the servants of posterity, the benefactors of succeeding generations. In the history of the world, many pages are devoted to commemorate the men who have besieged cities, subdued provinces, or overthrown empires. A colony is a better offering than a victory: the citizens of the United States should



rather cherish the memory of those who founded a state on the basis of democratic liberty; the fathers of the country; the men who, as they first trod the soil of the New World, scattered the seminal principles of republican freedom and national independence. They enjoyed, in anticipation, the thought of their extending influence, and the fame which their grateful successors would award to their virtues. "Out of small beginnings," said Bradford, "great things have been produced; and as one small candle may light a thousand, so the light here kindled hath shone to many, yea, in some sort, to our whole nation." Posterity repeats the consolation offered from England to the Pilgrims in the season of their greatest sufferings — "Let it not be grievous to you, that you have been instruments to break the ice for others. The honor shall be yours to the world's end."

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## CHAPTER XIII.

### COLONIZATION OF NEW HAMPSHIRE AND MAINE.

THE council of Plymouth for New England, having obtained of King James the boundless territory and the immense monopoly which they had desired, had no further obstacles to encounter but the laws of nature and the remonstrances of parliament. No tributaries tenanted their countless millions of uncultivated acres; and exactions upon the vessels of English fishermen were the only means of acquiring an immediate revenue from America.

In the second year after the settlement of Plymouth, five-and-thirty sail of vessels went to fish on the coasts of New England, and made good voyages. The monopolists appealed to King James; and the monarch, asserting his own prerogative, rather than regarding the



wish of the house of commons, issued a proclamation, which forbade any to approach the northern coast of America, except with the special leave of the company of Plymouth, or of the privy council.

In 1623, one Francis West was despatched with a commission as admiral of New England, for the purpose of excluding from the American seas such fishermen as came without a license. But the ocean was a wide place over which to keep sentry. The mariners refused to pay the tax which he imposed; and his ineffectual authority was soon resigned.

In the same year, the patentees, alike prodigal of charters and tenacious of their monopoly, having already given to Robert Gorges, the son of Sir Ferdinand, a patent for a tract extending ten miles on Massachusetts Bay, and thirty miles into the interior, appointed him lieutenant-general of New England, with power "to restrain interlopers," not less than to regulate the affairs of the corporation. His patent was never permanently used; though the colony at Weymouth was renewed, to meet once more with ill fortune. He was attended by Morrell, an Episcopal clergyman, who was provided with a commission for the superintendence of ecclesiastical affairs. Instead of establishing a hierarchy, Morrell, remaining in New England about a year, wrote a description of the country in verse; while the civil dignity of Robert Gorges ended in a short-lived dispute with Weston. They came to plant a hierarchy and a general government, and they produced only a fruitless quarrel and a dull poem.

The house of commons of 1621 had indignantly opposed the charter to the council of Plymouth. To the argument that America was not annexed to the realm, and therefore not within the jurisdiction of parliament, it had been answered, that "a bill passed by the commons and lords, if it receive the king's assent, will control the patent" When parliament was again convened, in 1624, the controversy against the charter was renewed. English fishermen, it was resolved, shall have

fishing with all its incidents. "Your patent" — thus Gorges was addressed by Sir Edward Coke from the speaker's chair — "contains many particulars contrary to the laws and privileges of the subject; it is a monopoly, and the ends of private gain are concealed under color of planting a colony." "Shall none," observed the veteran lawyer in debate — "shall none visit the sea-coast for fishing? This is to make a monopoly upon the seas, which wont to be free. If you alone are to pack and dry fish, you attempt a monopoly of the wind and the sun." It was in vain for Sir George Calvert to resist. The bill passed without amendment, though it never received the royal assent.

The determined opposition of the house, though it could not move the king to overthrow the corporation, paralyzed its enterprise; many of the patentees abandoned their interest; so that the Plymouth company now did little except issue grants of domains; and the cottages, which, within a few years, were sprinkled along the coast from Cape Cod to the Bay of Fundy, were the consequence of private adventure.

The territory between the River of Salem and the Kennebec became, in a great measure, the property of two enterprising individuals. We have seen that Martin Pring was the discoverer of New Hampshire, and that John Smith of Virginia had examined and extolled the deep waters of the Piscataqua. Sir Ferdinand Gorges, the most energetic member of the council of Plymouth, always ready to encounter risks in the cause of colonizing America, had not allowed repeated ill success to chill his confidence and decision; and now he found in John Mason, "who had been governor of a plantation in Newfoundland, a man of action," like himself. It was not difficult for Mason, who had been elected an associate and secretary of the council, to obtain, in March, 1621, a grant of the lands between Salem River and the farthest head of the Merrimac; but he did no more with his vast estate than give it a name. The passion for land increased; and, in August,

1622, Gorges and Mason took a patent for Laconia, the whole country between the sea, the St. Lawrence, the Merrimac, and the Kennebec; a company of English merchants was formed, and under its auspices permanent plantations were, in 1623, established on the banks of the Piscataqua. Portsmouth and Dover are among the oldest towns in New England. Splendid as were the anticipations of the proprietaries, and lavish as was their enthusiasm in liberal expenditures, the immediate progress of the plantations was inconsiderable, and, even as fishing stations, they do not seem to have prospered.

When the country on Massachusetts Bay was granted to a company, of which the zeal and success were soon to overshadow all the efforts of proprietaries and merchants, it became expedient for Mason to procure a new patent; and on the seventh of November, 1629, he received a fresh title to the territory between the Merrimac and Piscataqua, in terms which interfered with the pretensions of his neighbors on the south. This was the patent for New Hampshire, and was pregnant with nothing so signally as suits at law. No notice seems to have been taken of the rights of the natives; nor did they now issue any deed of their lands; but the soil in the immediate vicinity of Dover, and afterwards of Portsmouth, was conveyed to the planters themselves, or to those at whose expense the settlement had been made. A favorable impulse was thus given to the little colonies; and houses now began to be built on the "Strawberry Bank" of the Piscataqua. But the progress of the town was slow. In 1638, the whole coast is described as a mere wilderness, with here and there a few huts scattered by the sea-side; and thirty years after its settlement, Portsmouth made only the moderate boast of containing "between fifty and sixty families."

When the grand charter, which had established the council of Plymouth, was about to be revoked, Mason extended his pretensions to the Salem River, the southern boundary of his first territory, and, in April, 1635, ob-

tained of the expiring corporation a corresponding patent. The king might, without scruple, have confirmed the grant, and conferred upon him the powers of government, as absolute lord and proprietary; but the death of Mason, in November, cut off all the hopes which his family might have cherished of territorial aggrandizement and feudal supremacy. His widow in vain attempted to manage the colonial domains; the costs exceeded the revenue; the servants were ordered to provide for their own welfare; the property of the great landed proprietor was divided among them for the payment of arrears; and Mason's American estate was completely ruined. Neither king nor proprietary troubled the few inhabitants of New Hampshire; they were left to take care of themselves—the best dependence for states, as well as for individuals.

The enterprise of Sir Ferdinand Gorges, though sustained by stronger expressions of royal favor, and continued with indefatigable perseverance, was not followed by much greater success. We have seen a colony established, though but for a single winter, on the shores which Pring had discovered, and Weymouth had been the first to explore; and the cross had been raised by the French on Mount Desert. After the bays of New England had been more carefully examined by the same daring adventurer who sketched the first map of the Chesapeake, the coast was regularly visited by fishermen and traders. A special account of the country was one of the fruits of Hakluyt's inquiries, and was published in the collections of Purchas. At Winter Harbor, near the mouth of Saco River, Englishmen, under Richard Vines, again encountered the severities of the inclement season; and two years afterwards, the mutineers of the crew of *Rocraft* lived, from the autumn of 1618 till spring, on Monhegan Island, where the colony of *Popham* had anchored, and the ships of John Smith had made their station during his visit to New England. The earliest settlers, intent only on their immediate objects, hardly aspired after glory; from the few memorials

which they have left, it is not, perhaps, possible to ascertain the precise time when the rude shelters of the fishermen on the seacoast began to be tenanted by permanent inmates, and the fishing stages of a summer to be transformed into regular establishments of trade. The first settlement was probably made in 1626, "on the Maine," but a few miles from Monhegan, at the mouth of the Pemaquid.

The settlement at Piscataqua could not quiet the ambition of Gorges. As a Protestant and an Englishman, he was almost a bigot, both in patriotism and in religion. Unwilling to behold the Roman Catholic church and the French monarch obtain possession of the eastern coast of North America, his first act with reference to the territory of the present state of Maine was, to invite the Scottish nation to become the guardians of its frontier. Sir William Alexander seconded a design, which promised to establish his personal dignity and interest; and, in September, 1621, he obtained, without difficulty, a patent for all the territory east of the River St. Croix, and south of the St. Lawrence. The whole region, which had already been included in the French provinces of Acadia and New France, was designated in English geography by the name of Nova Scotia. Thus were the seeds of future wars scattered broadcast by the unreasonable pretensions of England; for James now gave away lands, which, already, and with a better title on the ground of discovery, had been granted by Henry IV. of France, and had been immediately occupied by his subjects.

The marriage of Charles I. with Henrietta Maria promised between the rival claimants of the wilds of Acadia such friendly relations as would lead to a peaceful adjustment of jarring pretensions. Yet, even at that period, the claims of France were not recognized by England; and a new patent confirmed to Sir William Alexander all the prerogatives with which he had been lavishly invested; and when, in 1627, the personal passions of the favorite, Buckingham, hurried England



into an unnecessary and disastrous conflict with France, hostilities were nowhere successfully attempted, except in America. In 1628, Port Royal fell easily into the hands of the English ; and Quebec also received a summons to surrender. Champlain, its commander, by an answer of proud defiance, concealed his weakness. But Richelieu sent no seasonable supplies ; the garrison was reduced to extreme suffering and the verge of famine ; and when, in 1629, the squadron of Sir David Kirk reappeared before the town, Quebec capitulated. Thus did England, one hundred and thirty years before the enterprise of Wolfe, make the conquest of the capital of New France ; that is to say, she gained possession of a barren rock and a few wretched hovels. Not a port in North America remained in possession of the French ; from Long Island to the Pole, England was without a rival.

But before the conquest of Canada was achieved, peace had been proclaimed, in Europe, between the contending states ; and, taking advantage of its conditions, the genius of Richelieu succeeded in obtaining the restitution, not of Canada only, but of Cape Breton and the undefined Acadia. The event has been frequently deplored ; but misery ensued, because neither the boundaries of the rival nations were distinctly marked, nor the spirit of the compact honestly respected.

While the eastern provinces of America were thus recovered by the firmness and ability of the French minister, a succession of patents, couched in vague language, distributed the territory from the Piscataqua to the Penobscot among various proprietors. The consequences were obvious. As the neighborhood of the indefinite possessions of France foreboded the border feuds of a controverted jurisdiction, so the domestic disputes about land-titles and boundaries threatened perpetual lawsuits. At the same time, enterprise was wasted by its diffusion over too wide a surface. Agriculture was hardly attempted. The musket and the hook and line were more productive than the imple-



ments of husbandry. Except for the wealth to be derived from the forest and the sea, the coast of Maine would not at that time have been tenanted by Englishmen; and this again was fatal to the expectations of the proprietaries; since furs might be gathered and fish taken without quitrents or title-deeds.

Yet Gorges still clung, with unbending hope, to the project of territorial aggrandizement, and, undismayed by previous losses, and by the encroaching claims of the French, who had already advanced their actual boundary to the Penobscot, succeeded in soliciting the whole district that lies between the Kennebec and the boundary of New Hampshire, with the appointment, for himself, as governor-general of New England. An unforeseen accident prevented his embarkation for America; but he sent his nephew, William Gorges, to govern his territory. That officer repaired to the province without delay. Saco may have contained one hundred and fifty inhabitants, when, in 1636, the first court ever duly organized on the soil of Maine was held within its limits. Before that time, there may have been some voluntary combinations among the settlers themselves; but there had existed on the Kennebec no jurisdiction of sufficient power to prevent or to punish bloodshed among the traders. William Gorges remained in the country less than two years; the six Puritans of Massachusetts and Connecticut, who received a commission to act as his successors, declined the trust, and the infant settlements then called New Somersetshire were abandoned to anarchy, or to so imperfect a government, that of the events of two years no records can be found.

Meantime a royal charter, in April, 1639, constituted Gorges, in his old age, the lord proprietary of the country; and his ambition immediately soared to the honor of establishing boroughs, framing schemes of colonial government, and enacting a code. The veteran royalist, clearly convinced of the necessity of a vigorous executive, had but dim conceptions of popular liberty

and rights; and he busied himself in making such arrangements as might have been expected from an old soldier, who was never remarkable for sagacity, had never seen America, and who, now in his dotage, began to act as a lawgiver for another hemisphere.

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## CHAPTER XIV.

### COLONIZATION OF MASSACHUSETTS.

SUCH was the condition of the settlements at the north at a time when the region which lies but a little nearer the sun, was already converted, by the energy of religious zeal, into a busy, well-organized, and even opulent state. The early history of Massachusetts is the history of a class of men as remarkable for their qualities and their influence on public happiness, as any by which the human race has ever been diversified.

The merchants of the west continued their voyages to the islands of New England. In 1624, a permanent establishment was attempted near Cape Ann. A year's experience induced the company to abandon the unprofitable scheme. But Roger Conant, their agent, a man of extraordinary vigor, "inspired, as it were, by some superior instinct," and confiding in the active friendship of John White, a minister of Dorchester in England, succeeded in breathing a portion of his sublime courage into his three companions; and, making choice of Salem, they resolved to remain as the sentinels of Puritanism on the Bay of Massachusetts.

The design of a plantation was ripening in the mind of White and his associates in the south-west of England. About the same time, some friends in Lincoln-

shire fell into discourse about New England; imagination swelled with the thought of planting the pure gospel among the quiet shades of America. After some deliberation, persons in London and the West Country were made acquainted with the project.

The council for New England, greedy of a revenue by the sale of patents, and little concerned even at making grants of territory which had already been purchased, on the nineteenth day of March, 1628, sold to John Humphrey, John Endicot, and Simon Whetcomb, and three others, gentlemen of Dorchester, a belt of land, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, extending three miles south of the River Charles and the Massachusetts Bay, and three miles north of every part of the River Merrimac. The zeal of White sought and soon found other and powerful associates in and about London, kindred spirits, — Winthrop, Dudley, Johnson, Pyncheon, Eaton, Saltonstall, Bellingham, so famous in colonial annals, with others, men of fortune, and friends to colonial enterprise, who desired to establish a plantation of "the best" of their countrymen in the safe seclusion of New England.

The company having added to religious zeal the resources of mercantile opulence, and a title to an extensive territory, immediately prepared for the emigration of a colony; and the rugged Endicot — a man of dauntless courage, and that cheerfulness which accompanies courage — was selected as "a fit instrument to begin this wilderness work." His wife and family were the companions of his voyage, the hostages of his fixed attachment to the New World. They, and those whom the company sent over the same year, — in all, not far from one hundred in number, — were welcomed by Conant and his faithful associates to the gloomy forests of Salem.

When the news reached London of the safe arrival of the emigrants, the number of the adventurers had already been much enlarged. The "Boston men" lent their strength to the company; and the Puritans throughout England were roused to sympathy. Interest

was also made to obtain a royal charter; and, on the fourth day of March, 1629, after much labor and large expenditures, the patent for the company of the Massachusetts Bay passed the seals.

The charter, which bears the signature of Charles I., and which was cherished for more than half a century as the most precious boon, established a corporation, like other corporations within the realm. The associates were constituted a body politic by the name of the "Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England." The administration of its affairs was intrusted to a governor, deputy, and eighteen assistants, who were to be annually elected by the stockholders, or members of the corporation. Four times a year, or oftener if desired, a general assembly of the freemen was to be held; and to these assemblies, which were invested with the necessary powers of legislation, inquest, and superintendence, the most important affairs were referred. No provision required the assent of the king to render the acts of the body valid; in his eye, it was but a trading corporation.

The charter, which designedly granted great facilities for colonization, did not directly concede to the patentees the privilege of freedom of worship. Yet it followed so clearly from the facts, that, in 1662, the sovereign of England declared "the principle and foundation of the charter of Massachusetts to be the freedom of liberty of conscience."

The political condition of the colonists was not deemed by King Charles a subject worthy of his consideration. It was reserved for the corporation to decide what degree of civil rights the emigrants should enjoy. The charter on which the freemen of Massachusetts succeeded in erecting a system of independent representative liberty, did not secure to them a single privilege of self-government, but left them, as the Virginians had been left, without one valuable franchise, at the mercy of a corporation within the realm.

It was equally the right of the corporation to estab-

lish the terms on which new members should be admitted to its freedom. Its numbers could be enlarged or changed only by its own consent.

The charter had been granted in March; in April, preparations were hastening for the embarkation of new emigrants. Benevolent instructions to Endicot were at the same time issued. "If any of the salvages" — such were the orders long and uniformly followed in all changes of government — "pretend right of inheritance to all or any part of the lands granted in our patent, we pray you endeavor to purchase their tyle, that we may avoid the least scruple of intrusion." "Particularly publish, that no wrong or injury be offered to the natives." Religious teachers also were provided; the excellent and truly catholic Francis Higginson, an eminent non-conforming minister, receiving an invitation to conduct the emigrants, esteemed it as a call from Heaven. The propagation of the gospel among the heathen was earnestly desired; in pious sincerity it was resolved if possible to redeem these wrecks of human nature; the colony seal was an Indian, erect, with an arrow in his right hand, and the motto, "Come over and help us." The company of emigrants was winnowed before sailing; and servants of ill life were discharged. "No idle drone may live amongst us," was the spirit as well as the law of the community.

As, in May, 1629, the ships were bearing Higginson and his followers out of sight of their native land, they remembered it, not as the scene of their sufferings from intolerance, but as the home of their fathers, and the dwelling-place of their friends. They did not say, "Farewell, Babylon! farewell, Rome! but FAREWELL, DEAR ENGLAND!"

It was in the last days of June, that the little band of two hundred arrived at Salem, where the "corruptions of the English Church" were never to be planted, and where a new "reformation" was to be reduced to practice. They found neither church nor town; eight or ten pitiful hovels, one more stately tenement for the

governor, and a few cornfields, were the only proofs that they had been preceded by their countrymen. The whole body of old and new planters now amounted to three hundred; of whom one third joined the infant settlement at Charlestown.

To the great European world, the few tenants of the mud-hovels and log-cabins at Salem might appear too insignificant to merit notice; to themselves, they were the chosen emissaries of God; outcasts from England, yet favorites with Heaven; blessed beyond all mankind, as the depositaries of the purest truth, of which the undying light should penetrate the wigwams of the heathen, and illumine the darkness of a benighted world. The emigrants were not so much a body politic, as a church in the wilderness, with no benefactor around them but nature, no present sovereign but God. The people were enthusiasts, but not bigots. Religious worship was established on the basis of the independence of each religious community. The church was self-constituted. It did not ask the assent of the king, or recognize him as its head; its officers were set apart and ordained among themselves; it used no liturgy; it rejected unnecessary ceremonies, and reduced the simplicity of Calvin to a still plainer standard. The doctrine and discipline then established at Salem remained the rule of New England.

There existed, even in this little company, a few to whom the new system was unexpected; and in John and Samuel Browne they found able leaders. They declared their dissent from the church of Higginson; and, at every risk of union and tranquillity, they insisted upon the use of the English liturgy. But should the emigrants give up the purpose for which they had crossed the Atlantic? They deemed the coëxistence of their liberty and of prelacy impossible. After vain attempts to persuade the Brownes to relinquish their resolute opposition, Endicot sent them to England in the returning ships; and faction, deprived of its leaders, died away.



Winter brought disease and the sufferings incident to early settlements. Above eighty, almost half of the emigrants, died before spring, lamenting only that they were removed from the world before beholding the perfect establishment of their religion. Higginson himself fell a victim to a hectic fever; enthusiast to the last, visions of the many churches which were to adorn and gladden the wilderness, in the hour of death floated before his eyes.

The Brownes returned to England, breathing ineffectual menaces. The ships also carried with them a description of New England, by Higginson; a tract of which three editions were published within a few months, so intense an interest in the new colony had been diffused throughout the realm.

The concession of the Massachusetts charter seemed to the Puritans like a summons from Heaven, inviting them to America. There the gospel might be taught in its purity, and nature be the safe witness of devotion. The ill success of other plantations could not chill the rising enthusiasm: former enterprise had aimed at profit; the present object was religion: the earlier settlements had been filled with a lawless multitude; it was now proposed to form "a peculiar government," and to colonize "THE BEST."

On the suggestion of the generous Matthew Cradock, the governor of the company, it was proposed that the charter should be transferred to those of the freemen who should themselves inhabit the colony. An agreement was at once formed at Cambridge in England, between men of fortune and education, that they would themselves embark for America, if, before the last of September, the whole government should be legally transferred to them and the other freemen of the company, who should inhabit the plantation. "I shall call that my country," said the younger Winthrop to his father, "where I may most glorify God, and enjoy the presence of my dearest friends. Therefore herein I submit myself to God's will and yours, and dedicate

myself to God and the company, with the whole endeavors, both of body and mind;" and without delay, after the contract had been executed, it was fully and with general consent declared, that the government and the patent should be transferred beyond the Atlantic, and settled in New England.

This vote effectually changed a commercial partnership into an independent provincial government. But it conferred no new franchises or power on the emigrants, unless they were already members of the company: it gave to Massachusetts a present government; but the corporation, though it was to meet in New England, retained the chartered right of admitting freemen according to its pleasure. The manner in which that power was to be exercised would control the early political character of Massachusetts.

At the court convened in October for the purpose of appointing officers who would emigrate, John Winthrop was chosen governor, and the whole board of assistants selected for America. Yet, as the hour of departure drew near, the consciousness of danger spread such terrors, that even the hearts of the strong began to fail. One and another of the magistrates declined. It became necessary, in March, 1630, to hold a court at Southampton for the election of three substitutes among the assistants; and of these three, one never came over. Even after they had embarked, a court was held on board the *Arbella*, and Thomas Dudley was chosen deputy-governor in the place of Humphrey, who staid behind. Dudley emigrated, and had hardly reached America, before he repented that he had come; the country had been described in too favorable colors. It was principally the calm decision of Winthrop which sustained the courage of his companions. In him a yielding gentleness of temper was secured against weakness by deep but tranquil enthusiasm. "Parent-like, distributing his goods to brethren and neighbors at his first coming," and, for the welfare of Massachusetts, cheerfully encountering poverty and premature age, his

lenient benevolence could temper, if not subdue, the bigotry of his times. An honest royalist, averse to pure democracy, yet firm in his regard for existing popular liberties; in England, a conformist, yet loving "gospel purity" even to Independency; in America, mildly aristocratic, advocating a government of "the least part," yet desiring that part to be "the wiser of the best;" disinterested, brave, and conscientious, — his character marks the transition of the reformation into avowed republicanism; when the sentiment of loyalty still sacredly cherished, was gradually yielding to the irresistible spirit of civil freedom.

The whole number of ships employed during the season was seventeen; and they carried over not far from fifteen hundred souls. About eight hundred — all of them Puritans, inclined to the party of the Independents; many of them men of high endowments, large fortune, and the best education; scholars, well versed in all the learning of the times; clergymen, who ranked among the most eloquent and pious in the realm — embarked with Winthrop for their asylum, bearing with them the charter, which was to be the basis of their liberties. The land was planted with a noble vine, wholly of the right seed. Religion did not expel the feelings of nature: before leaving Yarmouth, they published to the world the grounds of their removal and bade an affectionate farewell to the Church of England and to the land of their nativity. "Our hearts," say they, "shall be fountains of tears for your everlasting welfare, when we shall be in our poor cottages in the wilderness."

In June and July, the ships which bore Winthrop and his immediate companions, landed them in a scene of gloom; such of the earlier emigrants as had survived the previous winter, were poor and weak from sickness; their corn and bread were hardly enough for a fortnight's supply. Instead of offering a welcome, they thronged to the new-comers to be fed. Nearly two hundred servants, who had been sent over at a great expense, received their liberty, free from all engagements: their

labor—such was the excessive scarcity—was worth less than the cost of their maintenance.

The selection of places for the new plantations became the immediate care. The bay and the adjoining rivers were examined: if Charlestown was the place of the first sojourning, it was not long before the fires of civilization, never more to be quenched, were kindled in Boston and the adjacent villages. Boston, especially, had “sweet and pleasant springs,” “and good land, affording rich cornfields and fruitful gardens.” The dispersion of the company was esteemed a grievance; but no time was left for long deliberation, and those who had health began to build. Yet sickness delayed the progress of the work; and death often withdrew the laborer from the fruit of his exertions. Every hardship was encountered. The emigrants lodged, at best, in tents of cloth and in miserable hovels; they beheld their friends “weekly, yea, almost daily, drop away before their eyes;” in a country abounding in secret fountains, they perished for the want of good water. Many of them had been accustomed to plenty and ease, the refinements of cultivated life, and the conveniences of luxury. Woman was there to struggle against unforeseen hardships, unwonted sorrows; the men, who defied trials for themselves, were miserable at beholding those whom they cherished dismayed by the horrors which encompassed them. The virtues of Arbella Johnson, a daughter of the house of Lincoln, could not break through the gloomy shadows that surrounded her; and, as she had been ill before her arrival, desponding grief soon hurried her to the grave. Her husband, in life “the greatest furtherer of the plantation,” and by his bequests a benefactor of the infant state, was borne down by disease and afflictions; but “he died willingly and in sweet peace,” making a “most godly end.” Winthrop lost a son, though not by disease. A hundred or more, some of them of the board of assistants, men who had enjoyed high consideration, and had been revered with confidence as the inseparable companions of the common misery or the

common success, disheartened by the scenes of woe, and dreading famine and death, deserted Massachusetts, and sailed for England. Before December, two hundred, at the least, had died. Yet, as the brightest lightnings are kindled in the darkest clouds, the general distress did but augment the piety, and confirm the fortitude, of the colonists. Not a hurried line, not a trace of repining, appears in their records; the congregations always assembled at the stated times, whether in the open fields or under the shade of an ancient tree; in the midst of want, they abounded in hope; in the solitudes of the wilderness, they believed themselves in company with the Greatest, the most Benevolent of Beings. Honor is due not less to those who perished than to those who survived; to the martyrs the hour of death was an hour of triumph. Even children caught the spirit of the place, awaited their last hours in tranquil confidence, and went to the grave full of immortality. The survivors bore all things meekly, "remembering the end of their coming hither." "We here enjoy God and Jesus Christ," wrote Winthrop to his wife, whom pregnancy had detained in England; "and is not this enough? I thank God, I like so well to be here, as I do not repent my coming. I would not have altered my course, though I had foreseen all these afflictions. I never had more content of mind."

Such were the scenes in the infant settlements of Massachusetts. In the two following years, the colony had not even the comfort of receiving large accessions. In 1631, ninety only came over—a smaller number than had returned the preceding year. In 1632, no more than two hundred and fifty arrived. Men dreaded the hazards of the voyage and the wilderness, and waited to learn the success of the first adventurers. Those who had deserted excused their cowardice by defaming the country. Dudley wrote plainly of the hardships to be encountered; and, moreover, the apprehension was soon raised, and never quieted, that the liberties of the colonists would be subverted by the government in England.



Purity of religion and civil liberty were the objects nearest the wishes of the emigrants. The first court of assistants took measures for the support of the ministers. As others followed, the form of the administration was considered, that the liberties of the people might be secured against the encroachments of the rulers; "for," say they, "the waves of the sea do not more certainly waste the shore, than the minds of ambitious men are led to invade the liberties of their brethren." By the charter, fundamental laws were to be enacted in the assembly of all the freemen of the colony; and, on the nineteenth of October, a general court was accordingly convened at Boston to settle the government. More than one hundred persons, many of them old planters and members of no church, were admitted to the franchises of the corporation; the inconvenience of gathering the whole body for purposes of legislation became but the greater and the more apparent; and the people did but reserve to themselves the right of filling such vacancies as might occur in the board of assistants. Thus the government became, for a season, an elective aristocracy; the magistrates, holding their offices for no limited period, were to choose the governor and deputy from among themselves, and were intrusted with every branch of political power.

This arrangement was temporary. At the next general court, convened late in May, 1631, after "the corn was set," the freemen, scarce one hundred and fifty in number, revoking a part of the authority, of which they had been too lavish, reserved to the commons the right of annually making in the board such changes as a majority should desire. Should the right not be exercised, the former magistrates remained in power. And a law of still greater moment, pregnant with evil and with good, was at the same time established. "To the end the body of the commons may be preserved of honest and good men, it was ordered and agreed, that, for the time to come, no man shall be admitted to the freedom of this body politic, but such as are members of some of



the churches within the limits of the same." Thus was the elective franchise narrowed. The polity was a sort of theocracy; God himself was to govern his people; and the select band of religious votaries were constituted the oracle of the divine will. An aristocracy was founded, but not of wealth. The servant, the bondman, might be a member of the church, and therefore a freeman of the company. Other states have limited the possession of political rights to the opulent, to freeholders, to the first-born; the Calvinists of Massachusetts established the reign of the visible church—a commonwealth of the chosen people in covenant with God.

The public mind of the colony could not rest satisfied with leaving the assistants in possession of an almost independent existence; it was therefore agreed, at the general court of 1632, that the governor and assistants should be annually chosen. The people, satisfied with the recognition of their right, reëlected their former magistrates with silence and modesty. The germ of a representative government was already visible; each town was ordered to choose two men, to appear at the next court of assistants, and concert a plan for a public treasury. The measure had become necessary; for a levy, made by the assistants alone, had already awakened alarm and opposition.

While a happy destiny was thus preparing for Massachusetts a representative government, relations of friendship were established with the natives. From the banks of the Connecticut came the sagamore of the Mohegans, to extol the fertility of his country, and solicit an English plantation as a bulwark against the Pequods; the nearer Nipmucks invoked the aid of the emigrants against the tyranny of the Mohawks; the son of the aged Canonicus exchanged presents with the governor; and Miantonómoh himself, the great warrior of the Narragansets, the youthful colleague of Canonicus, became a guest at the board of Winthrop, and was present with the congregation at a sermon from Wilson. At last, a Pequod sachem, with great store of wampumpeag, and

bundles of sticks in promise of so many beaver and otter skins, also came to solicit the English alliance and mediation.

Intercourse was also cherished with the earlier European settlements. To perfect friendship with the pilgrims, the governor of Massachusetts, with Wilson, pastor of Boston, in October, 1632, repaired to Plymouth. From the south shore of Boston harbor, it was a day's journey; for they travelled on foot. In honor of the great event, Bradford and Brewster, the governor and elder of the Old Colony, came forth to meet them, and conduct them to the town, where they were kindly entertained and feasted. "On the Lord's day, they did partake of the sacrament;" in the afternoon, a question was propounded for discussion; the pastor spoke briefly; the teacher prophesied; the governor of Plymouth, the elder, and others of the congregation, took part in the debate, which, by express desire, was closed by the guests from Boston. Thus was fellowship confirmed with Plymouth. From the Chesapeake a rich freight of corn had already been received, and trade was begun with the Dutch at Hudson's River.

These better auspices, and the invitations of Winthrop, won new emigrants from Europe. During the long summer voyage of the two hundred passengers, who, in 1633, freighted the Griffin, three sermons a day beguiled their weariness. Among them was Haynes, a man of a "heavenly" mind, and a spotless life; by nature tolerant, ever a friend to freedom, ever conciliating peace; dear to the people by his benevolent virtues and his disinterested conduct. Then also came the most revered spiritual teachers of two commonwealths — the acute and subtile Cotton, and Hooker, whom, for his abilities and services, his contemporaries placed "in the first rank" of men, praising him as "the one rich pearl, with which Europe more than repaid America for the treasures from her coast." The people to whom Hooker ministered had preceded him: as he landed, they crowded about him with their welcome. "Now I live," exclaimed he, as

with open arms he embraced them — “now I live, if ye stand fast in the Lord.”

Thus recruited, the little band in Massachusetts grew more jealous of its liberties. “The prophets in exile see the true forms of the house.” By a common impulse, the freemen of the towns, in 1634, chose deputies to consider in advance the reforms that were needed, and, at the assembly of the general court, the ballot-box was introduced.

It was further decreed, that the whole body of the freemen should be convened only for the election of the magistrates. To these, with deputies to be chosen by the several towns, the powers of legislation and appointment were henceforward intrusted. The trading corporation was unconsciously become a representative democracy.

The law against arbitrary taxation followed. None but the immediate representatives of the people might dispose of lands or raise money. Thus early did Massachusetts echo the voice of Virginia, like the mountain replying to the thunder, or like deep calling unto deep. The state was filled with the hum of village politicians; “the freemen of every town in the bay were busy in inquiring into their liberties and privileges.” With the exception of the extended suffrage, the representative democracy was as perfect two centuries ago as it is to-day. Even the magistrates, who acted as judges, held their office by the annual popular choice.

To limit the discretion of the executive, the people next demanded a written constitution; and, in 1635, a commission was appointed “to frame a body of grounds of laws in resemblance to a magna charta,” to serve as a bill of rights. The ministers, as well as the general court, were to pass judgment on the work; and, with partial success, it was urged that God’s people should be governed by the laws from God to Moses.

“The order of the churches and the commonwealth,” wrote Cotton to friends in Holland, “is now so settled in New England by common consent, that it brings to mind the new heaven and new earth wherein dwells righteousness.”

## CHAPTER XV.

## THE COLONIZATION OF PROVIDENCE AND RHODE ISLAND.

WHILE the state was thus connecting, by the closest bonds, the energy of its faith with its form of government, there appeared in its midst a determined advocate of intellectual liberty. In February of the first year of the colony, but a few months after the arrival of Winthrop, and before either Cotton or Hooker had embarked for New England, there arrived at Nantasket, after a stormy passage of sixty-six days, "a young minister, godly and zealous, having precious" gifts. It was Roger Williams. He was then but a little more than thirty years of age. He was a Puritan, and a fugitive from English persecution; but his wrongs had not clouded his accurate understanding. In the capacious recesses of his mind he had revolved the nature of intolerance, and he, and he alone, had arrived at the great principle which is its sole effectual remedy. He announced his discovery under the simple proposition of the sanctity of conscience. The civil magistrate should restrain crime, but never control opinion; should punish guilt, but never violate the freedom of the soul. In the unwavering assertion of his views he never changed his position; the sanctity of conscience was the great tenet, which, with all its consequences, he defended, as he first trod the shores of New England; and in his extreme old age it was the last pulsation of his heart.

So soon, therefore, as Williams arrived in Boston, he found himself among the New England churches, but not of them. What, then, was the commotion in the colony, when it was found that the people of Salem desired to receive him as their teacher! The court of Boston "marvelled" at the precipitate decision, and the people of Salem were required to forbear. Williams

withdrew to the settlement of Plymouth, and remained there about two years. But his virtues had won the affections of the church of Salem; and, in 1633, the apostle of intellectual liberty was once more welcomed to their confidence. He remained the object of public jealousy; for his principles led him into perpetual collision with the clergy and the government of Massachusetts.

The magistrates insisted on the presence of every man at public worship; Williams reprobated the law; the worst statute in the English code was that which did but enforce attendance upon the parish church. "No one should be bound to worship, or," he added, "to maintain a worship, against his own consent." "What!" exclaimed his antagonists, amazed at his tenets; "is not the laborer worthy of his hire?" "Yes," replied he, "from them that hire him."

The magistrates were selected exclusively from the members of the church; with equal propriety, reasoned Williams, might "a doctor of physick or a pilot" be selected according to his skill in theology and his standing in the church.

It was objected to him, that his principles subverted all good government. The commander of the vessel of state, replied Williams, may maintain order on board the ship, and see that it pursues its course steadily, even though the dissenters of the crew are not compelled to attend the public prayers of their companions.

But the controversy finally turned on the question of the rights and duty of magistrates to guard the minds of the people against corruption, and to punish what would seem to them error and heresy. Magistrates, Williams asserted, are but the agents of the people, or its trustees, on whom no spiritual power in matters of worship can ever be conferred; "their power extends only to the bodies and goods and outward estate of men." With corresponding distinctness he foresaw the influence of his principles on society. "The removal of the yoke of soul-oppression," — to use the words in

which, at a later day, he confirmed his early view, — “as it will prove an act of mercy and righteousness to the enslaved nations, so it is of binding force to engage the whole and every interest and conscience to preserve the common liberty and peace.”

The evils inseparable on a religious establishment soon began to be displayed. The ministers got together, and declared any one worthy of banishment, who should obstinately assert, that “the civil magistrate might not intermeddle even to stop a church from apostasy and heresy.”

Williams was left alone, absolutely alone. Anticipating the censures of the colonial churches, he declared himself no longer subjected to their spiritual jurisdiction. “My own voluntary withdrawing from all these churches, resolved to continue in persecuting the witnesses of the Lord, presenting light unto them, I confess it was mine own voluntary act; yea, I hope the act of the Lord Jesus, sounding forth in me the blast, which shall in his own holy season cast down the strength and confidence of those inventions of men.” When summoned, in October, 1635, to appear before the general court, he avowed his convictions in the presence of the representatives of the state, “maintained the rocky strength of his grounds,” and declared himself “ready to be bound and banished, and even to die in New England,” rather than renounce them. He was the first person in modern Christendom to assert, in its plenitude, the doctrine of the liberty of conscience, the equality of opinions before the law. The early advocates of toleration in England, still clinging to the necessity of positive regulations, resembled the poets, who, in their folly, first declare their hero invulnerable, and then clothe him in earthly armor: Williams was willing to leave Truth alone, in her own panoply of light. High honors are awarded to those who advance the bounds of human knowledge. A moral principle has the nearest influence on human happiness; nor can any discovery of truth be of more direct benefit to society, than



that which establishes a perpetual religious peace. Let, then, the name of Roger Williams find a place among the benefactors of mankind.

But while the opinion of posterity is no longer divided, the members of the general court of that day, by a small majority, pronounced against him the sentence of exile.

Winter was at hand. Williams succeeded in obtaining permission to remain till spring, intending then to begin a plantation in Narraganset Bay. But the affections of the people of Salem revived, and could not be restrained; they thronged to his house to hear him whom they were so soon to lose forever; it began to be rumored, that he could not safely be allowed to found a new state in the vicinity; "many of the people were much taken with the apprehension of his godliness;" his opinions were contagious; the infection spread widely. It was therefore resolved to remove him to England in a ship that was just ready to set sail. In January, 1636, a warrant was accordingly sent to him to come to Boston and embark. For the first time, he declined the summons of the court. A pinnace was sent for him; the officers repaired to his house; he was no longer there. Three days before, he had left Salem, in winter snow and inclement weather, of which he remembered the severity even in his late old age. "For fourteen weeks, he was sorely tost in a bitter season, not knowing what bread or bed did mean." Often in the stormy night he had neither fire, nor food, nor company; often he wandered without a guide, and had no house but a hollow tree. But he was not without friends. The same scrupulous respect for the rights of others, which had led him to defend the freedom of conscience, had made him also the champion of the Indians. During his residence at Plymouth, he had often been the guest of the neighboring sachems, and had learned their language; and now, when he came in winter to the cabin of the chief of Pokanoket, he was welcomed by Massasoit; and "the barbarous heart of Canonicus, the chief of the Narra-

gansets, loved him as his son to the last gasp." "The ravens," he relates with gratitude, "fed me in the wilderness." And in requital for their hospitality, he was ever, through his long life, their friend and benefactor; the apostle of Christianity to them without hire, weariness, or impatience at their idolatry; the guardian of their rights against European encroachments.

He first pitched, and began to build and plant, at Seekonk. But Seekonk was found to be within the patent of Plymouth. On the other side of the water, the country opened in its unappropriated beauty; and there he might hope to establish a community as free as the other colonies. "That ever-honored Governor Winthrop," says Williams, "privately wrote to me to steer my course to the Narraganset Bay, encouraging me from the freeness of the place from English claims or patents. I took his prudent motion as a voice from God."

It was in June, that the lawgiver of Rhode Island, with five companions, embarked on the stream; a frail Indian canoe contained the founder of an independent state and its earliest citizens. Tradition has marked the spring near which they landed; it is the parent spot, the first inhabited nook of Rhode Island. To express his unbroken confidence in the mercies of God, Williams called the place PROVIDENCE. "I desired," said he, "it might be for a shelter for persons distressed for conscience."

In his new abode, Williams could have less leisure for contemplation and study. "My time," he observes of himself, — and it is a sufficient apology for the roughness of his style, as a writer on morals, — "was not spent altogether in spiritual labors; but, day and night, at home and abroad, on the land and water, at the hoe, at the oar, for bread." In the course of two years, he was joined by others, who fled to his asylum. The land which was now occupied by Williams was within the territory of the Narraganset Indians. In March, 1633, an Indian deed from Canonicus and Miantonómoh made him the undisputed possessor of an extensive

domain. Nothing displays more clearly the character of Roger Williams, than the use which he made of his acquisition of territory. The soil he could claim as his "own, as truly as any man's coat upon his back;" and he "reserved to himself not one foot of land, not one tittle of political power, more than he granted to servants and strangers." "He gave away his lands and other estate to them that he thought were most in want, until he gave away all." He chose to found a commonwealth in the unmixed forms of a pure democracy, where the will of the majority should govern the state; yet "only in civil things;" God alone was respected as the Ruler of conscience.

The most touching trait in the founder of Rhode Island was his conduct towards his persecutors. Though keenly sensitive to the hardships which he had endured, he was far from harboring feelings of revenge towards those who banished him, and only regretted their delusion. "I did ever, from my soul, honor and love them, even when their judgment led them to afflict me." In all his writings on the subject, he attacked the spirit of intolerance, the doctrine of persecution, and never his persecutors or the colony of Massachusetts. It is not strange, then, if "many hearts were touched with relentings;" and his nearer friends, the immediate witnesses of his actions, declared him, from "the whole course and tenor of his life and conduct, to have been one of the most disinterested men that ever lived, a most pious and heavenly-minded soul."

Meantime, the fame of the liberties of Massachusetts extended widely: the good-natured earl of Warwick, a friend to advancement in civil liberty, though not a republican, offered his congratulations on its prosperity; and, in a single year, three thousand new settlers were added to the Puritan colony. Among these was the fiery Hugh Peters, who had been pastor of a church of English exiles in Rotterdam; a republican of an enlarged spirit, great energy, and popular eloquence, not always tempering active enterprise with solidity of

judgment. At the same time came Henry Vane, the younger, a man of the purest mind; a statesman of spotless integrity; whose name the progress of intelligence and liberty will erase from the rubric of fanatics and traitors, and insert high among the aspirants after truth and the martyrs for liberty. He had valued the "obedience of the gospel" more than the successful career of English diplomacy, and cheerfully "forsook the preferments of the court of Charles for the ordinances of religion in their purity in New England."

The freemen of Massachusetts, pleased that a young man of such elevated rank and distinguished ability should have adopted their creed, and joined them in their exile, in 1636 elected him their governor. The choice was unwise; for neither the age nor the experience of Vane entitled him to the distinction. He came but as a sojourner, and not as a permanent resident; neither was he imbued with the colonial prejudices, the genius of the place; and his clear mind, unbiased by previous discussions, and fresh from the public business of England, saw distinctly what the colonists did not wish to see — the really wide difference between their practice under their charter and the meaning of that instrument on the principles of English jurisprudence.

These latent causes of discontent could not but be eventually displayed; at first, the arrival of Vane was considered an auspicious pledge for the emigration of men of the highest rank in England. Several of the English peers, especially Lord Say and Seal, — a Presbyterian, a friend to the Puritans, yet with but dim perceptions of the true nature of civil liberty, — and Lord Brooke, — a man of charity and meekness, an early friend to tolerance, — had begun to inquire into the character of the rising institutions, and to negotiate for such changes as would offer them inducements for removing to America. They demanded a division of the general court into two branches, that of assistants and of representatives — a change which was acceptable to the people, and which, from domestic reasons, was ultimately adopted; but they further re-

quired an acknowledgment of their own hereditary right to a seat in the upper house. The fathers of Massachusetts were disposed to conciliate these powerful friends; they promised them the honors of magistracy, would have readily conferred it on some of them for life, and actually began to make appointments on that tenure; but as for the establishment of hereditary dignity, they answered by the hand of Cotton, "Where God blesseth any branch of any noble or generous family with a spirit and gifts fit for government, it would be a taking of God's name in vain to put such a talent under a bushel, and a sin against the honor of magistracy to neglect such in our public elections. But if God should not delight to furnish some of their posterity with gifts fit for magistracy, we should expose them to reproach and prejudice, and the commonwealth with them, if we should call them forth, when God doth not, to public authority." And thus the proposition for establishing hereditary nobility was defeated. The people, moreover, soon became uneasy at the concession of office during lifetime; nor would they be quieted, till, in 1639, it was made a law, that those who were appointed magistrates for life, should yet not be magistrates except in those years in which they might be regularly chosen at the annual election.

The institutions of Massachusetts, which were thus endangered by the influence of men of rank in England, were likewise in jeopardy from the effects of religious divisions. In Boston and its environs, the most profound questions which can relate to the mysteries of human existence and the laws of the moral world, were discussed with passionate zeal.

Amidst the arrogance of spiritual pride, the vagaries of undisciplined imaginations, and the extravagances to which the intellectual power may be led in its pursuit of ultimate principles, the formation of two distinct parties may be perceived. The first consisted of the original settlers, the framers of the civil government, and their adherents; they who were intent on the founda-



tion and preservation of a commonwealth, and were satisfied with the established order of society. They had founded their government on the basis of the church, and church membership could be obtained only by the favor of the clergy and an exemplary life. They dreaded unlimited freedom of opinion as the parent of ruinous divisions. They were reproached with being "priest-ridden magistrates," "under a covenant of works."

The other party was composed of individuals who had arrived after the civil government and religious discipline of the colony had been established. They had come to the wilderness for freedom of religious opinion; and they resisted every form of despotism over the mind. To them the clergy of Massachusetts were "the ushers of persecution," "popish factors," who had not imbibed the true doctrines of Christian reform. With the doctrine of justification by faith alone, they derided the formality of the established religion; and by asserting that the Holy Spirit dwells in every believer, that the revelation of the Spirit is superior "to the ministry of the word," they sustained with intense fanaticism the paramount authority of private judgment.

The founder of this party was Anne Hutchinson, a woman of such admirable understanding "and profitable and sober carriage," that she won a powerful party in the country, and her enemies could never speak of her without acknowledging her eloquence and her ability. She was encouraged by John Wheelwright, her brother, and by Henry Vane, the governor of the colony; while a majority of the people of Boston sustained her in her rebellion against the clergy. Scholars and men of learning, members of the magistracy and the general court, adopted her opinions. The public mind seemed hastening towards an insurrection against spiritual authority; and she was denounced as "weakening the hands and hearts of the people towards the ministers," as being "like Roger Williams, or worse."

The subject possessed the highest political impor-



tance. Nearly all the clergy, except Cotton, in whose house Vane was an inmate, clustered together in defence of their influence, and in opposition to Vane; and Wheelwright, who, in a fast-day's sermon, in 1637, had strenuously maintained the truth of his opinions, and had never been confuted, in spite of the remonstrance of the governor, was censured by the general court for sedition. At the ensuing choice of magistrates, the religious divisions controlled the elections. The friends of Wheelwright had threatened an appeal to England; but in the colony "it was accounted perjury and treason to speak of appeals to the king." Could it be doubted who would obtain the confidence of the people? In the midst of such high excitement, that even the pious Wilson climbed into a tree to harangue the people on election day, Winthrop and his friends, the fathers and founders of the colony, recovered the entire management of the government. To prevent the increase of the faction esteemed so dangerous, it was enacted by the party in power, that none should be received within the jurisdiction, but such as should be allowed by some of the magistrates.

After vainly opposing the act of intolerance, and leaving a memorial of his dissent, Vane returned to England. The friends of Wheelwright could not brook the censure of their leader; they slighted the rebuke of the ministers and the court, and avowed their determination to follow the impulses of conscience. At once the government feared, or pretended to fear, a disturbance of the public peace, a wild insurrection of lawless fanatics. A synod of the ministers of New England was therefore assembled to settle the true faith; and vagueness of language performed the office of a peace-maker. The general peace of the colony being thus assured, the civil magistrates proceeded to complete the triumph of the clergy, by passing sentence on the more resolute offenders. Wheelwright, Anne Hutchinson, and Aspinwall, were exiled from the territory of Massachusetts, as "unfit for the society" of its citizens.

So ended the Antinomian strife in Massachusetts. The principles of Anne Hutchinson were a natural consequence of the progress of the reformation. Their true tendency is best established by examining the institutions which were founded by her followers.

Wheelwright and his immediate friends removed to the banks of the Piscataqua; and, at the head of tide waters on that stream, they founded the town of Exeter — one more little republic in the wilderness, organized on the principles of natural justice by the voluntary combination of the inhabitants.

The larger number of the friends of Anne Hutchinson, led by John Clarke and William Coddington, proceeded to the south, designing to make a plantation on Long Island, or near Delaware Bay. But Roger Williams welcomed them to his vicinity; and, in March, 1638, his own influence, and the powerful name of Henry Vane, prevailed with Miantonomoh, the chief of the Narragansets, to obtain for them a gift of the beautiful island of Rhode Island. The spirit of the institutions established by this band of voluntary exiles, on the soil which they owed to the benevolence of the natives, was derived from natural justice: a social compact, signed after the manner of the precedent at New Plymouth, so often imitated in America, founded the government upon the basis of the universal consent of every inhabitant: the forms of the administration were borrowed from the examples of the Jews. Coddington was elected judge in the new Israel; and three elders were soon chosen as his assistants. The colony rested on the principle of intellectual liberty: philosophy itself could not have placed the right on a broader basis. The settlement prospered; and, in 1641, it became necessary to establish a constitution. It was therefore ordered by the whole body of freemen, and “unanimously agreed upon, that the government, which this body politic doth attend unto in this island, and the jurisdiction thereof, in favor of our Prince, is a DEMOCRACIE, or popular government; that is to say, it is in

the power of the body of freemen orderly assembled, or major part of them, to make or constitute just Lawes, by which they will be regulated, and to depute from among themselves such ministers as shall see them faithfully executed between man and man." "It was further ordered, that none be accounted a delinquent for doctrine;" the law for "liberty of conscience was perpetuated." The little community was held together by the bonds of affection and freedom of opinion; benevolence was their rule: they trusted in the power of love to win the victory; and "the signet for the state" was ordered to be "a sheafe of arrows," with "the motto AMOR VINCET OMNIA." A patent from England seemed necessary for their protection; and to whom could they direct their letters but to the now powerful Henry Vane? *(Ans)*

Such were the institutions which sprung from the party of Anne Hutchinson. But she did not long enjoy their protection. Recovering from a transient dejection of mind, she had gloried in her sufferings as her greatest happiness; and, making her way through the forest, she travelled by land to the settlement of Roger Williams, and from thence joined her friends on the island, sharing with them the hardships of early emigrants. Her powerful mind still continued its activity; young men from the colonies became converts to her opinions; and she excited such admiration, that to the leaders in Massachusetts it "gave cause of suspicion of witchcraft." She was in a few years left a widow, but was blessed with affectionate children. A tinge of fanaticism pervaded her family: one of her sons, and Collins, her son-in-law, had ventured to expostulate with the people of Boston on the wrongs of their mother. But would the Puritan magistrates of that day tolerate a censure of their government? Severe imprisonment for many months was the punishment inflicted on the young men for their boldness. Rhode Island itself seemed no longer a safe place of refuge; and the whole family removed

beyond New Haven to East Chester, in the territory of the Dutch. The violent Kieft had provoked an insurrection among the Indians; in 1643, the house of Anne Hutchinson was attacked and set on fire; herself, her son-in-law, and all their family, save one child, perished by the rude weapons of the savages, or in the flames.

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## CHAPTER XVI.

### COLONIZATION OF CONNECTICUT.

THUS was personal suffering mingled with the peaceful and happy results of the watchfulness or the intolerance of Massachusetts. The legislation of that colony may be reproved for its jealousy, yet not for its cruelty; and Williams, and Wheelwright, and Aspinwall, suffered not much more from their banishment than some of the best men of the colony encountered from choice. For rumor had spread not wholly extravagant accounts of the fertility of the alluvial land along the borders of the Connecticut; and the banks of that river were already adorned with the villages of the Puritans, planted just in season to anticipate the rival designs of the Dutch.

The valley of the Connecticut had early become an object of desire and of competition. The earl of Warwick was the first proprietary of the soil, under a grant from the council for New England; and it was next held by Lord Say and Seal, Lord Brooke, John Hampden, and others, as his assigns. In 1633, before any colony could be established with their sanction, the people of New Plymouth had built a trading-house at Windsor, and conducted with the natives a profitable commerce in furs. "Dutch intruders" from Manhattan, ascending the river, had also raised at Hartford the house "of

Good Hope," and struggled to secure the territory to themselves. In 1635, the younger Winthrop, the future benefactor of Connecticut, one of those men in whom the elements of human excellence are mingled in the happiest union, returned from England with a commission from the proprietaries of that region to erect a fort at the mouth of the stream—a purpose which was accomplished. Yet, before his arrival in Massachusetts Bay, settlements had been commenced by emigrants from the environs of Boston, at Hartford, and Windsor, and Wethersfield; and in the last days of the pleasantest of the autumnal months, a company of sixty pilgrims, women and children being of the number, began their march to the west. Never before had the forests of America witnessed such a scene. But the journey was begun too late in the season: the winter was so unusually early and severe, that provisions could not arrive by way of the river; imperfect shelter had been provided; cattle perished in great numbers; and the men suffered such privations, that many of them, in the depth of winter, abandoned their newly-chosen homes, and waded through the snows to the seaboard.

Yet, in the opening of the next year, a government was organized, and civil order established; and the budding of the trees and the springing of the grass were signals for a greater emigration to the Connecticut. Some smaller parties had already made their way to the new Hesperia of Puritanism. In June, the principal caravan began its march, led by Thomas Hooker, "the light of the Western Churches." There were of the company about one hundred souls, many of them persons accustomed to affluence and the ease of European life. They drove before them numerous herds of cattle; and thus they traversed on foot the pathless forests of Massachusetts; advancing hardly ten miles a day through the tangled woods, across the swamps and numerous streams, and over the high lands that separated the several intervening valleys; subsisting, as they slowly wandered along, on the milk of the kine, which browsed on



the fresh leaves and early shoots; having no guide, through the nearly untrodden wilderness, but the compass, and no pillow for their nightly rest but heaps of stones. How did the hills echo with the unwonted lowing of the herds! How were the forests enlivened by the loud and fervent piety of Hooker! Never again was there such a pilgrimage from the sea-side "to the delightful banks" of the Connecticut. The emigrants had been gathered from among the most valued citizens, the earliest settlers, and the oldest churches of the bay. John Haynes had for one year been the governor of Massachusetts; and Hooker had no rival in public estimation but Cotton, whom he surpassed in force of character, in boldness of spirit, and in honorable clemency.

The new settlement, that seemed so far towards the west, was environed by perils. The Dutch still indulged a hope of dispossessing the English, and the natives of the country beheld the approach of Europeans with malignant hatred. No part of New England was more thickly covered with aboriginal inhabitants than Connecticut. The Pequods, who were settled round the Thames, could muster at least seven hundred warriors; the whole number of the effective men of the emigrants was much less than two hundred. The danger was incessant; and while the settlers, with hardly a plough or a yoke of oxen, turned the wild fertility of nature into productiveness, they were at the same time exposed to the incursions of a savage enemy, whose delight was carnage.

For the Pequods had already shown a hostile spirit. Several years had elapsed since they had murdered the crew of a small trading vessel in Connecticut River. With some appearance of justice they pleaded the necessity of self-defence, and, in 1634, sent messengers to Boston to desire the alliance of the white men. The government of Massachusetts accepted the excuse, and immediately conferred the benefit which was due from civilization to the ignorant and passionate tribes; it reconciled the Pequods with their hereditary enemies,



the Narragansets. No longer at variance with a powerful neighbor, the Pequods again, in July, 1636, displayed their bitter and imboldened hostility to the English by murdering Oldham, near Block Island. The outrage was punished by a sanguinary but ineffectual expedition. The warlike tribe was not overawed, but rather courted the alliance of its neighbors, the Narragansets and the Mohegans, that a union and a general rising of the natives might sweep the hated intruders from the ancient hunting-grounds of the Indian race. The design could be frustrated by none but Roger Williams; and the exile, who had been the first to communicate to the governor of Massachusetts the news of the impending conspiracy, encountered the extremity of peril with magnanimous heroism. Having received letters from Vane and the council of Massachusetts, requesting his utmost and speediest endeavors to prevent the league, neither storms of wind nor high seas could detain the adventurous envoy. Shipping himself alone in a poor canoe, every moment at the hazard of his life, he hastened to the house of the sachem of the Narragansets. The Pequod ambassadors, reeking with blood, were already there; and for three days and nights the business compelled him to lodge and mix with them, having cause every night to expect their knives at his throat. The Narragansets were wavering; but Roger Williams succeeded in dissolving the formidable conspiracy. It was the most intrepid and most successful achievement in the whole Pequod war—an action as perilous in its execution as it was fortunate in its issue. When the Pequods were left to contend single-handed against the English, it was their ignorance only which could still inspire confidence in their courage.

Continued injuries and murders roused Connecticut to action; and, in May, 1637, the court of its three infant towns decreed immediate war. Uncas, sachem of the Mohegans, was their ally. To John Mason the staff of command was delivered at Hartford by the venerated Hooker; and, after nearly a whole night spent, at the

request of the soldiers, in importunate prayer by the very learned and godly Stone, about sixty men, one third of the whole colony, aided by John Underhill and twenty gallant recruits, whom the forethought of Vane had sent from the Bay State, sailed past the Thames, and, designing to reach the Pequod fort unobserved, entered a harbor near Wickford, in the Bay of the Narragansets. The next day was the Lord's, sacred to religion and rest. Early in the week, the captains of the expedition, with the pomp of a military escort, repaired to the court of Canonicus, the patriarch and ruler of the tribe; and the younger and more fiery Miantonómoh, surrounded by two hundred of his bravest warriors, received them in council. "Your design," said he, "is good; but your numbers are too weak to brave the Pequods, who have mighty chieftains, and are skilful in battle;" and after doubtful friendship, he deserted the desperate enterprise.

Nor did the unhappy clans on Mystic River distrust their strength. To their hundreds of brave men their bows and arrows still seemed formidable weapons. Ignorant of European fortresses, they viewed their rush-work palisades with complacency; and as the English boats sailed by the places where the rude works of the natives frowned defiance, it was rumored through the tribe, that its enemies had vanished from fear. Exultation followed; and hundreds of the Pequods spent much of the last night of their lives in revelry, at a time when the sentinels of the English were within hearing of their songs. On the twenty-sixth of May, two hours before dawn, the soldiers of Connecticut put themselves in motion towards the enemy; and, as the light of morning began to break, they made their attack on the principal fort, which stood in a strong position at the summit of a hill. The colonists knew that they were fighting for the security of their homes; that, if defeated, the war-whoop would immediately resound near their cottages, and their wives and children be abandoned to the scalping-knife and the tomahawk. They ascend to the attack; a watch-dog bays an alarm at their approach; the Indians

awake, rally, and resist, as well as bows and arrows can resist weapons of steel. The superiority of number was with the savages; as they fought, hand to hand, though the massacre spread from wigwam to wigwam, the issue was delayed. "We must burn them!" shouted Mason, and cast a firebrand to the windward among the light mats of the Indian cabins. Hardly could the English withdraw to encompass the place, before the whole encampment was in a blaze. Did the helpless natives climb the palisades, the flames assisted the marksmen to take good aim at the unprotected men; did they attempt a sally, they were cut down by the English broadswords. The carnage was complete: about six hundred Indians, men, women, and children, perished; most of them in the hideous conflagration. In about an hour the work of destruction was finished. Two only of the English had fallen. The sun, as it rose serenely in the east, was the witness of the victory.

With the light of morning, three hundred or more Pequod warriors were descried, as they proudly approached from their second fort. They had anticipated success; what was their horror as they beheld the smoking ruins, strown with the half-consumed flesh of so many hundreds of their race! They stamped on the ground, and tore their hair; but it was in vain to attempt revenge; then and always, to the close of the war, the feeble manner of the natives hardly deserved, says Mason, the name of fighting; their defeat was certain, and unattended with much loss to the English. The aborigines were never formidable in battle, till they became supplied with the weapons of European invention.

A portion of the troops hastened homewards to protect the settlements from any sudden attack; while Mason, with about twenty men, marched across the country from the vicinity of New London to the English fort at Saybrook. He reached the river at sunset; but Gardner, who commanded the fort, observed his approach; and never did the heart of a Roman consul,

returning in triumph, swell more than the pride of Mason and his friends, when they found themselves received as victors, and "nobly entertained with many great guns."

In a few days, the troops from Massachusetts arrived, attended by Wilson; for the ministers always shared every hardship and every danger. The remnants of the Pequods were pursued into their hiding-places; every wigwam was burned, every settlement was broken up, every cornfield laid waste. Sassacus, their sachem, was murdered by the Mohawks, to whom he had fled for protection. The few that survived, about two hundred, surrendering in despair, were enslaved by the English, or incorporated among the Mohegans and the Narragansets. There remained not a sannup nor squaw, not a warrior nor child, of the Pequod name. A nation had disappeared from the family of man.

The vigor and courage displayed by the settlers on the Connecticut, in this first Indian war in New England, struck terror into the savages, and secured a long succession of years of peace. The infant was safe in its cradle, the laborer in the fields, the solitary traveller during the night-watches in the forest; the houses needed no bolts, the settlements no palisades. Under the benignant auspices of peace, the citizens of the western colony resolved to perfect its political institutions, and to form a body politic by a voluntary association. The constitution which was thus framed in January, 1639, was of unexampled liberality. The elective franchise belonged to all the members of the towns who had taken the oath of allegiance to the commonwealth; the magistrates and legislature were chosen annually by ballot; and the representatives were apportioned among the towns according to population. More than two centuries have elapsed; the world has been made wiser by the most various experience; political institutions have become the theme on which the most powerful and cultivated minds have been employed; and so many consti-

tutions have been framed or reformed, stifled or subverted, that memory may despair of a complete catalogue; but the people of Connecticut have found no reason to deviate essentially from the frame of government established by their fathers. No jurisdiction of the English monarch was recognized; the laws of honest justice were the basis of their commonwealth; and therefore its foundations were lasting. These humble emigrants invented an admirable system; for they were near to Nature, listened willingly to her voice, and easily copied her forms. No ancient usages, no hereditary differences of rank, no established interests, impeded the application of the principles of justice. Freedom springs spontaneously into life; the artificial distinctions of society require centuries to ripen. History has ever celebrated the heroes who have won laurels in scenes of carnage. Has it no place for the founders of states—the wise legislators who struck the rock in the wilderness, so that the waters of liberty gushed forth in copious and perennial fountains? They who judge of men by their services to the human race, will never cease to honor the memory of Hooker and of Haynes.

In equal independence, a Puritan colony sprang up at New Haven, under the guidance of John Davenport as its pastor, and of the excellent Theophilus Eaton, who was annually elected its governor for twenty years, till his death. Its forms were austere, unmixed Calvinism; but the spirit of humanity had sheltered itself under the rough exterior. On the eighteenth of April, 1638, the colonists held their first gathering under a branching oak. It was a season of gloom. Spring had not yet revived the verdure of nature; under the leafless tree the little flock were taught by Davenport, that, like the Son of man, they were led into the wilderness to be tempted. After a day of fasting and prayer, they rested their first frame of government on a simple plantation covenant, that “all of them would be ordered by the rules which the Scriptures held forth to them.” A title



to lands was obtained by a treaty with the natives, whom they protected against the Mohawks. When, after more than a year, the free planters of the colony desired a more perfect form of government, the followers of Him who was laid in a manger held their constituent assembly in a barn. There, on the fourth of June, 1639, by the influence of Davenport, it was solemnly resolved, that the Scriptures are the perfect rule of a commonwealth; that the purity and peace of the ordinance to themselves and their posterity, were the great end of civil order; and that church members only should be free burgesses. A committee of twelve was selected to choose seven men, qualified for the foundation-work of organizing the government. Eaton, Davenport, and five others, were "the seven Pillars" for the new House of Wisdom, in the wilderness. In August, 1639, the seven pillars assembled, possessing for the time absolute power. Having abrogated every previous executive trust, they admitted to the court all church members; the character of civil magistrates was next expounded "from the sacred oracles;" and the election followed. Then Davenport, in the words of Moses to Israel in the wilderness, gave a charge to the governor, to judge righteously; "the cause that is too hard for you," — such was part of the minister's text, — "bring it unto me, and I will hear it." Annual elections were ordered, and God's word established as the only rule in public affairs. Thus New Haven made the Bible its statute-book, and the elect its free-men. As neighboring towns were planted, each was likewise a house of wisdom, resting on its seven pillars, and aspiring to be illumined by the Eternal Light. The colonists prepared for the second coming of Christ, which they confidently expected. Meantime their pleasant villages spread along the Sound, and on the opposite shore of Long Island; and for years they nursed the hope of "speedily planting Delaware."



## CHAPTER XVII.

## THE UNITED COLONIES OF NEW ENGLAND.

THE English government was not indifferent to the progress of the colonies of New England. The stern discipline exercised by the government at Salem, produced an early harvest of enemies: resentment long rankled in the minds of some, whom Endicot had perhaps too passionately punished; and when they returned to England, Mason and Gorges, the rivals of the Massachusetts company, willingly echoed their vindictive complaints.

Proof was produced of marriages celebrated by civil magistrates, and of the system of colonial church discipline—proceedings which were at variance with the laws of England. “The departure of so many of THE BEST,” such “numbers of faithful and free-born Englishmen and good Christians,”—a more ill-boding sign to the nation than the portentous blaze of comets and the impressions in the air, at which astrologers are dismayed,—began to be regarded by the archbishops as an affair of state; and ships bound with passengers for New England were detained in the Thames by an order of the council. “The colonists, it was said, aimed not at new discipline, but at sovereignty; and a requisition commanded the letters patent of the company to be produced in England.

In April, 1634, the archbishop of Canterbury, and those who were associated with him, received full power over the American plantations, to establish the government, to regulate the church, and to revoke any charter which conceded liberties prejudicial to the royal prerogative.

On receiving the news of this commission, poor as the new settlements were, six hundred pounds were raised towards fortifications; “the assistants and the deputies

discovered their minds to one another," and the fortifications were hastened. All the ministers assembled at Boston. "We ought," said they, unanimously, "to defend our lawful possessions, if we are able."

At the same time, several of the members of the Grand Council of Plymouth desired as individuals to become the proprietaries of extensive territories, even at the dishonor of invalidating all their grants as a corporation. A meeting of the lords was duly convened, and the whole coast, from Acadia to beyond the Hudson, being divided into shares, was distributed, in part at least, by lots.

To gain possession of the prizes, it was argued that the grant for Massachusetts had been surreptitiously obtained; that the lands belonged to Robert Gorges by a prior deed; that the intruders had "made themselves a free people." Soon after the general patent for New England was surrendered to the king, a *quo warranto* was brought against the company of the Massachusetts Bay. Several of its members, who resided in England, made their appearance, and judgment was pronounced against them individually; the rest of the patentees stood outlawed, but no judgment was entered up against them. The unexpected death of Mason, who, as the proprietary of New Hampshire, had been the chief mover of all the aggressions on the rights of the adjoining colony, suspended the hostile movements, which Gorges had too much honesty to renew.

The severe censures in the Star Chamber, the greatness of the fines which avarice rivaled bigotry in imposing, the rigorous proceedings with regard to ceremonies, the suspending and silencing of multitudes of ministers, still continued; and men were "enforced by heaps to desert their native country. Nothing but the wide ocean, and the savage deserts of America, could hide and shelter them from the fury of the bishops." The pillory had become the bloody scene of human agony and mutilation, as an ordinary punishment. They were provoked to the indiscretion of a complaint, and then

involved in a persecution. They were imprisoned and scourged; their noses were slit; their ears were cut off; their cheeks were marked with a red-hot brand. But the lash, and the shears, and the glowing iron, could not destroy principles which were rooted in the soul, and which danger made it glorious to profess. The injured party even learned to despise the mercy of their oppressors. Four years after Prynne had been punished for a publication, he was a second time arraigned for a like offence. "I thought," said Lord Finch, "that Prynne had lost his ears already; but," added he, looking at the prisoner, "there is something left yet;" and an officer of the court, removing the hair, displayed the mutilated organs. "I pray to God," replied Prynne, "you may have ears to hear me!" A crowd gathered round the scaffold, where he, and Bastwick, and Burton, were to suffer mutilation. "Christians," said Prynne, as he presented the stumps of his ears to be grubbed out by the hangman's knife, "stand fast; be faithful to God and your country, or you bring on yourselves and your children perpetual slavery." The dungeon, the pillory, and the scaffold, were but stages in the progress of civil liberty towards its triumph.

The Puritans, hemmed in by dangers on every side, and at that time having no prospect of ultimate success, desired at any rate to escape from their native country. In May, 1638, the privy council interfered to stay a squadron of eight ships, which were in the Thames, preparing to embark for New England. It has been said that they had Hampden and Cromwell on board. But on petition of the owners and passengers, King Charles removed the restraint; the ships, proceeding on their voyage, arrived safely in the Bay of Massachusetts. Hampden and Cromwell were certainly not of the party, or they too would have reached New England.

A few weeks before this attempt to stay emigration, the lords of the council had written to Winthrop, recalling to mind the proceedings by a quo warranto, and demanding the return of the patent. In case of refusal,

it was added, the king would assume into his own hands the entire management of the plantation. But "David in exile could more safely expostulate with Saul for the vast space between them." "If the patent be taken from us," — such was the cautious but energetic remonstrance of the colonists, — "the common people will conceive that his majesty hath cast them off, and that hereby they are freed from their allegiance and subjection, and therefore will be ready to confederate themselves under a new government, for their necessary safety and subsistence, which will be of dangerous example unto other plantations, and perilous to ourselves, of incurring his majesty's displeasure." They therefore beg of the royal clemency the favor of neglect.

But before their supplication could find its way to the throne, the monarch was himself involved in disasters. Anticipating success in his tyranny in England, he had resolved to practise no forbearance; with headlong indiscretion, he insisted on introducing a liturgy into Scotland, and compelling the uncompromising disciples of Knox to listen to prayers translated from the Roman missal. The first attempt at reading the new service in the cathedral of Edinburgh was the signal for that series of momentous events which promised to restore liberty to England, and give peace to the colonies. The movement began, as great revolutions almost always do, from the ranks of the people. "What, ye villain!" shouted Jenny Geddes at the dean, as he read the liturgy, "will ye say mass in my lug?" and she threw her three-legged stool at his head. — "A pape, a pape!" resounded the multitude, incensed against the bishop; "stane him, stane him!" The Churchmen narrowly escaped martyrdom. The tumult spreads; the nobles of Scotland take advantage of the excitement of the people to advance their ambition. The national covenant is published, and is signed by the Scottish nation, almost without distinction of rank or sex; the defences of despotism are broken down; the flood washes away every vestige of ecclesiastical oppression. Scotland

rises in arms for a holy war, and enlists religious enthusiasm under its banner in its contest against a despot, who has neither a regular treasury, nor an army, nor the confidence of his people. The wisest of his subjects esteem the insurgents as friends and allies. There is now no time to oppress New England; the throne itself totters;—there is no need to forbid emigration; England is at once become the theatre of wonderful events, and many fiery spirits, who fled for a refuge to the colonies, rush back to share in the open struggle for liberty. In the following years, few passengers came over; the reformation of church and state, the attainder of Strafford, the impeachment of Laud, caused all men to stay in England in expectation of a new world.

Yet a nation was already planted in New England; a commonwealth was matured; the contests in which the unfortunate Charles became engaged, and the republican revolution that followed, left the colonists, for the space of twenty years, nearly unmolested in the enjoyment of the benefits of virtual independence. The change which their industry had wrought in the wilderness, was the wonder of the world. Plenty prevailed. The wigwams and hovels in which the English had at first found shelter, were replaced by well-built houses. The number of emigrants who had arrived in New England before the assembling of the Long Parliament, are esteemed to have been twenty-one thousand two hundred. In a little more than ten years, fifty towns and villages had been planted; between thirty and forty churches built; and strangers, as they gazed, could not but acknowledge God's blessing on the endeavors of the planters. Affluence was already beginning to follow in the train of industry. The natural exports of the country were furs and lumber; grain was carried to the West Indies; fish also was a staple. The fishermen, in 1639, were favored by exemption of themselves from military duty, and of the estate needed for fishing, from taxation. Ship-building was early introduced and encouraged. Vessels of four hundred tons were constructed before 1643. In



that year, also, "men began to look about them, and fell to a manufacture of cotton, whereof they had store from Barbadoes." And "the general court made order for the manufacture of woollen and linen cloth."

The Long Parliament contained among its members many sincere favorers of the Puritan plantations; and they were urged to solicit its favor. "But, consulting about it," writes Winthrop, "we declined the motion for consideration, that if we should put ourselves under the protection of the parliament, we must then be subject to all such laws as they might impose upon us." The love of political independence declined even benefits.

In like manner, when letters arrived, inviting the colonial churches to send deputies to the Westminster assembly of divines, Hooker, of Hartford, jealous of independence, "liked not the business," and the invitation was neglected. Yet, to obtain commercial advantages, Hugh Peters and two others had been despatched as agents for the colonies; and their mission was favorably received. The house of commons, in March, 1643, voted that "the plantations in New England had, by the blessing of the Almighty, had good and prosperous success, without any public charge to the parent state;" and their imports and exports were freed from all taxation, "until the house of commons should take order to the contrary." The general court of Massachusetts entered the ordinance on their records as a memorial for posterity, and requited the kindness by an act of reciprocity.

Meantime Massachusetts promulgated its bill of rights. The colony, moreover, offered a free welcome to Christians of every nation, who might fly "from wars or famine, or the tyranny and oppression of persecutors." Hospitality was as wide as misfortune.

The jurisdiction of Massachusetts was also extended over New Hampshire. The strict interpretation of the charter offered an excuse for claiming the territory. The people of New Hampshire, dreading the perils of anarchy, by their own voluntary act, in April, 1641, an-



nexed themselves to their powerful neighbor ; not as a province, but on equal terms, as an integral portion of the state. The banks of the Piscataqua had not been peopled by Puritans ; and, therefore, neither the freemen nor the deputies of New Hampshire were required to be church members. Thus political harmony was established, though the settlements long retained marks of the difference of their origin.

The enlargement of the territory of Massachusetts was, in part, a result of the virtual independence which the commotions in the mother country had secured to the colonies. The establishment of a UNION among the Puritan states of New England was of still greater moment.

In 1637, immediately after the victories over the Pequods, the design of a confederacy was proposed. The next year it came again into discussion ; but Connecticut, offended "because some preëminence was yielded to Massachusetts," insisted on reserving to each state a negative on the proceedings of the confederacy. This reservation was refused ; for, in that case, said Massachusetts, "all would have come to nothing."

The vicinity of the Dutch, a powerful neighbor, whose claims Connecticut could not, single-handed, defeat, led the colonists of the west to renew the negotiation ; and with such success, that, in 1643, THE UNITED COLONIES OF NEW ENGLAND were "made all as one."

The union embraced the separate governments of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven ; but to each its respective local jurisdiction was carefully reserved. The affairs of the confederacy were intrusted to commissioners, consisting of two from each colony. Church membership was the only qualification required for the office. The commissioners were to assemble annually, or oftener if exigencies demanded. The affairs of peace and war, and especially Indian affairs, exclusively belonged to them ; they were authorized to make internal improvements at the common charge ; they, too, were the guardians to see equal and speedy justice as-

sured to all the confederates in every jurisdiction. The common expenses were to be assessed according to population.

Thus remarkable for simplicity was the form of the first confederated government in America. It was a directory, apparently without any check. There was no president, except as a moderator of its meetings; and the largest state, Massachusetts, superior to all the rest in territory, wealth, and population, had no greater number of votes than New Haven. But the commissioners were, in reality, little more than a deliberative body: they possessed no executive power, and, while they could decree a war and a levy of troops, it remained for the states to carry their votes into effect.

Provision was made for the reception of new members into the league; but the provision was wholly without results. The people beyond the Piscataqua were not admitted, because "they ran a different course" from the Puritans, "both in their ministry and in their civil administration." The plantations of Providence also desired in vain to participate in the benefits of the union; and the request of the island of Rhode Island was equally rejected, because it would not consent to form a part of the jurisdiction of Plymouth. Yet this early confederacy survived the jealousies of the Long Parliament, met with favor from the Protector, and escaped censure on the restoration of the Stuarts.

Its chief office was the security of the settlements against the natives, whose power was growing more formidable in proportion as they became acquainted with the arts of civilized life. But they were, at the same time, weakened by dissensions among themselves. Now that the Pequod nation was extinct, the more quiet Narragansets could hardly remain at peace with the less numerous Mohegans. Anger and revenge brooded in the mind of Miantonómoh. He hated the Mohegans, for they were the allies of the English, by whom he had been arraigned as a criminal. At Boston he had suffered indignities alike wounding to his pride as a chief

tain and his honor as a man. His savage wrath was kindled against Uncas, his accuser, whom he detested as doubly his enemy, — once as the sachem of a hostile tribe, and again as a traitor to the whole Indian race, the cringing sycophant of the white men. Gathering his men suddenly together, in defiance of a treaty to which the English were parties, Miantonómoh, accompanied by a thousand warriors, fell upon the Mohegans. But his movements were as rash as his spirit was impetuous: he was defeated and taken prisoner by those whom he had doomed as a certain prey to his vengeance. By the laws of Indian warfare, the fate of the captive was death. The unhappy chief was conducted to Hartford; and the wavering Uncas, who had the strongest claims to the gratitude and protection of the English, asked the advice of the commissioners of the United Colonies. Murder had ever been severely punished by the Puritans: they had, at Plymouth, with the advice of Massachusetts, executed three of their own men for taking the life of one Indian; and the elders, to whom the case of Miantonómoh was referred, finding that he had, deliberately and in time of quiet, murdered a servant of the Mohegan chief; that he had fomented discontents against the English; and that, in contempt of a treaty, he had plunged into a useless and bloody war, — perceived in his career no claims to mercy. He seemed to merit death, yet not at the hands of the settlers. Uncas received his captive, and, conveying the helpless victim beyond the limits of the jurisdiction of Connecticut, put him to death. So perished Miantonómoh, the friend of the exiles from Massachusetts, the faithful benefactor of the fathers of Rhode Island.

The tribe of Miantonómoh burned to avenge the execution of their chief; but they feared a conflict with the English, whose alliance they vainly solicited, and who persevered in protecting the Mohegans. The Narragansets were at last compelled to submit in sullenness to a peace, of which the terms were alike hateful to their independence, their prosperity, and their love of revenge.

Content with the security which the confederacy afforded, the people of Connecticut desired no guaranty for their independence from the government of England; taking care only, by a regular purchase, to obtain a title to the soil from the assigns of the earl of Warwick. The people of Rhode Island sought the protection of the mother country; and the founder of the colony was chosen to conduct the important mission.

Embarking at Manhattan, in 1643, he arrived in England not long after the death of Hampden. The parliament had placed the affairs of the American colonies under the control of Warwick, as governor-in-chief, assisted by a council of five peers and twelve commoners. Among these commoners was Henry Vane, a man who was ever as true in his affections as in his principles, and who now welcomed the American envoy as an ancient friend. The favor of parliament was won by the incomparable "printed Indian labors of Roger Williams, the like whereof was not extant from any part of America;" and his merits as a missionary induced "both houses of parliament, in March, 1644, to grant unto him, and friends with him, a free and absolute charter of civil government for the place of his abode." Thus were the places of refuge for "soul liberty," on the Narraganset Bay, incorporated, "with full power and authority to rule themselves." To the Long Parliament, and especially to Sir Henry Vane, Rhode Island owes its existence as a political state.

A double triumph awaited Williams on his return to New England. He arrived at Boston, and letters from the parliament insured him a safe reception from those who had decreed his banishment. But what honors rewarded the negotiator, on his return to the province which he had founded! As he reached Seekonk, he found the water covered with a fleet of canoes; all Providence had come forth to welcome the return of its benefactor. Receiving the successful ambassador, the group of boats started for the opposite shore; and, as they paddled across the stream, Roger Williams,

placed in the centre of his grateful fellow-citizens, and glowing with the purest joy, "was elevated and transported out of himself."

Yet danger still menaced. The executive council of state in England, in April, 1651, granted to Coddington a commission for governing the islands; and such a dismemberment of the territory of the narrow state must have terminated in the division of the remaining soil between the adjacent governments. Williams was again compelled to return to England; and, with John Clarke, his colleague in the mission, was again successful. The dangerous commission was vacated, and the charter, uniting what now forms the state of Rhode Island, confirmed. The general assembly, in its gratitude, desired that Williams might himself obtain from the sovereign authority in England an appointment as governor, for a year, over the whole colony. But if gratitude blinded the province, ambition did not blind its benevolent author. Williams refused to sanction a measure which would have furnished a dangerous precedent, and was content with the honor of doing good. His entire success with the executive council was due to the powerful intercession of Sir Henry Vane. "Under God, the sheet-anchor of Rhode Island was Sir Henry."

Far different were the early destinies of the Province of Maine. After the lord proprietary had "travailed in the cause above forty years," and expended above twenty thousand pounds, all the regalia which his deputy could find in the principality, were not enough for the scanty furniture of a cottage. Yet the nature of Gorges was generous, and his piety sincere. He sought pleasure in doing good; fame, by advancing Christianity among the heathen; a durable monument, by erecting houses, villages, and towns. The contemporary and friend of Raleigh, he adhered to schemes in America for almost half a century; and, long after he became convinced of their unproductiveness, was still bent on plans of colonization, at an age when



other men are but preparing to die with decorum. Firmly attached to the monarchy, he never disobeyed his king, except that, as a Churchman and a Protestant, he refused to serve against the Huguenots. When the wars in England broke out, the septuagenarian royalist buckled on his armor, and gave the last strength of his gray hairs to the defence of the unfortunate Charles. On the death of Gorges, the people repeatedly wrote to his heirs. No answer was received; and such commissioners as had authority from Europe gradually withdrew. There was no relief for the colonists but in themselves; and, in July, 1649, the inhabitants of Piscataqua, Gorgeana, and Wells, following the American precedent, with free and unanimous consent, formed themselves into a body politic for the purposes of self-government. Massachusetts readily offered its protection. In May, 1652, the great charter of the Bay company was unrolled before the general court in Boston, and, "upon perusal of the instrument, it was voted, that this jurisdiction extends from the northernmost part of the River Merrimac, and three miles more, north, be it one hundred miles, more or lesse, from the sea; and then upon a straight line east and west to each sea." The words were precise. Nothing remained but to find the latitude of a point three miles to the north of the remotest waters of the Merrimac, and to claim all the territory of Maine which lies south of that parallel. Commissioners were promptly despatched to the eastward to settle the government. The firm remonstrances of Edward Godfrey, then governor of the province, a loyal friend to the English monarchy and the English Church, were disregarded; and one town after another, yielding in part to menaces and armed force, gave in its adhesion. Great care was observed to guard the rights of property; every man was confirmed in his possessions; the religious liberty of the Episcopalians was left unharmed; the privileges of citizenship were extended to all inhabitants; and the whole eastern country, gradually, yet reluctantly, submitted to



the necessity of the change. When the claims of the proprietaries in England were urged before Cromwell, many inhabitants of the towns of York, Kittery, Wells, Saco, and Cape Porpoise, yet not a majority, remonstrated on the ground of former experience. To sever them from Massachusetts would be to them "the subverting of all civil order."

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## CHAPTER XVIII.

### PURITAN INTOLERANCE AND PURITAN INDEPENDENCE.

THUS did Massachusetts, following the most favorable interpretation of its charter, extend its frontier to the islands in Casco Bay. It was equally successful in maintaining its independence of the Long Parliament, though the circumstances of the contest were fatal to the immediate assertion of the liberty of conscience.

It was the creed of even the most loyal, that "if the king, or any party from him, should attempt any thing against this commonwealth," it was the common duty "to spend estate, and life, and all, without scruple, in its defence;" that "if the parliament itself should hereafter be of a malignant spirit, then, if the colony have strength sufficient, it may withstand any authority from thence to its hurt." Massachusetts called itself "a perfect republic." Nor was the expression a vain boast. The commonwealth, by force of arms, preserved in its harbors a neutrality between the ships of the opposing English factions; it placed death as the penalty for any "attempt at the alteration of the frame of polity fundamentally," that it might intimidate those who should assert the absolute supremacy of the English parliament; it established a mint; it proposed a treaty

of commerce with Canada, to be maintained even in case of war between France and England : during the hostilities between England and Holland, it refused to make use of the sword, and continued a peaceful intercourse with Manhattan.

Meantime the public mind was agitated with discussions on liberty of conscience and independence of English jurisdiction.

In Boston, a powerful liberal party openly existed. But the apparent purpose of advancing religious freedom was made to disguise measures of the deadliest hostility to the frame of civil government. The nationality of New England was in danger. The New Party, "busy and factious spirits, always opposite to the civil governments of the country and the way of its churches," professing to be advocates "for a full and free tolerance of religion to all men, without exception against Turk, Jew, Papist, Arian, Socinian, Familist, or any other," desired to subvert the charter government, and introduce a general governor from England. They asserted (what English lawyers would have confirmed, but what the colonists were not willing to concede) that there existed in the country no settled form of government according to the laws of England. An entire revolution was demanded ; "if not," they add, "we shall be necessitated to apply our humble desires to both houses of parliament ;" and there was reason to fear that they would obtain a favorable hearing before the body whose authority they labored to enlarge. Thus it was sought to advance the sacred principle of religious freedom by subverting the liberties of New England.

The danger was imminent. It struck at the very life and foundation of the rising commonwealth ; and the patriots of that day, distrustful of dissenters, as false to colonial freedom, connected the defence of their charter with proscriptive intolerance. They would trust nothing but unmixed Puritanism ; and they turned for counsel to a synod of the ministers.

At a special session of the general court, in Novem-

ber, 1646, the nature of the relation with England was made the subject of debate. After much deliberation, it was agreed that Massachusetts owed to England the same allegiance as the free Hanse Towns had rendered to the empire; as Normandy, when its dukes were kings of England, had paid to the monarchs of France. It was also resolved not to accept a new charter from the parliament, for that would imply a surrender of the old. Besides, parliament granted none, but by way of ordinance, which the king might one day refuse to confirm, and always made for itself an express reservation of "a supreme power in all things." The elders, after a day's consultation, confirmed the decisions. "If parliament should be less inclinable to us, we must wait upon Providence for the preservation of our just liberties."

The colony then proceeded to exercise the independence which it claimed. The appeal of Robert Childe and his companions to the commissioners in England was not admitted. "The charter," urged Childe, "does but create a corporation within the realm, subject to English laws." "Plantations," replied the court, "are above the rank of an ordinary corporation; they have been esteemed other than towns, yea, than many cities. Colonies are the foundations of great commonwealths."

To the parliament of England the legislature remonstrated with the noblest frankness against any assertion of the paramount authority of that body. "We have not," say they, "admitted appeals to your authority, being assured they cannot stand with the liberty and power granted us by our charter, and would be destructive to all government."

"The vast distance between England and these parts abates the virtue of the strongest influences. Your councils and judgments can neither be so well grounded, nor so seasonably applied, as might either be useful to us, or safe for yourselves, in the great day of account. If any miscarriage shall befall us, when we have the government in our own hands, the state of England shall not answer for it."

In the same spirit, Edward Winslow, the agent for Massachusetts in England, publicly denied that the jurisdiction of parliament extended to America. "If the parliament of England should impose laws upon us, having no burgesses in the house of commons, nor capable of a summons by reason of the vast distance, we should lose the liberties and freedom of English indeed." It marks an honest love of liberty and of justice in the Long Parliament, that the doctrines of colonial equality should have been received with favor. "Sir Henry Vane, though he might have taken occasion against the colony for some dishonor, which he apprehended to have been unjustly put upon him there, yet showed himself a true friend to New England, and a man of a noble and generous mind." After ample deliberation, the committee of parliament magnanimously replied, "We encourage no appeals from your justice. We leave you with all the freedom and latitude that may, in any respect, be duly claimed by you."

Such were the arts by which Massachusetts preserved its liberties. The harmony of the people had been confirmed by the courage of the elders, who gave fervor to the enthusiasm of patriotism. "It had been as unnatural for a right New England man to live without an able ministry, as for a smith to work his iron without a fire." The union between the elders and the state could not, therefore, but become more intimate than ever; and religion was venerated and cherished as the security against political subserviency. When the synod met by adjournment, it was by the common consent of all the Puritan colonies, that a system of church government was established for the congregations. A jealous regard for charter liberties was combined with the intolerant exclusiveness of a religion of the state.

After royalty was abolished, the Long Parliament invited Massachusetts to receive a new patent, and to hold courts and issue warrants in its name. But the colonial

commonwealth was too wary to hazard its rights by merging them in the acts of a government of which the decline seemed approaching.

The Puritans of New England enjoyed the confidence of Cromwell throughout all the period of his success. They esteemed his battles the battles of the Lord; and "the spirits of the brethren were carried forth in faithful and affectionate prayers in his behalf;" but, at the same time, they charged him to rule his spirit, rather than to storm cities. In return, he declared himself "truly ready to serve the brethren and the churches" in America. The declaration was sincere; he left them independence, and favored their trade; he offered them, what they declined, new homes in Ireland and in Jamaica; and though they frequently thwarted his views, they never provoked his displeasure, or forfeited his regard.

Yet the Puritans of New England perceived that other revolutions were ripening; their vigilance was never lulled; their bigotry was cherished as the safeguard and the spirit of independence. The severe laws were sharpened against infidelity on the one hand, and sectarianism on the other; nor can it be denied, nor should it be concealed, that the elders, especially Wilson and Norton, instigated and sustained the government in its worst cruelties, till the inefficiency of bigot laws was made plain by the fearless resistance of a still more stubborn fanaticism.

Saltonstall wrote from Europe, that, but for their intolerance, the people of Massachusetts would have been "the eyes of God's people in England." The consistent Sir Henry Vane urged, that "the oppugners of the Congregational way should not, from its own principles and practice, be taught to root it out." "It were better," he added, "not to censure any persons for matters of a religious concernment." The elder Winthrop had professed himself weary of banishing heretics; the soul of the younger Winthrop was incapable of harboring a thought of intolerant cruelty; but the rugged Dudley

was not mellowed by old age. "God forbid," said he, "our love for the truth should be grown so cold, that we should tolerate errors. I die no libertine." — "Better tolerate hypocrites and tares than thorns and briars," affirmed Cotton. "Polypietty," echoed Ward, "is the greatest impiety in the world. To say that men ought to have liberty of conscience, is impious ignorance." — "Religion," said the melancholic Norton, "admits of no eccentric motions." But the people did not share the passions of the elders, or wholly approve the policy into which the love of unity, so favorable to independence, had betrayed the leading men. The power of the civil magistrate in religious affairs was become the theme of perpetual discussion; and the force of established authority could scarcely sustain the doctrine of persecution. The popular tenets of Anabaptism made it a dangerous rival to the Establishment. The sect was proscribed, and its ministers arrested and fined, or scourged without mercy.

Since a particular form of worship had become a part of the civil establishment, irreligion was now to be punished as a civil offence. The state was a model of Christ's kingdom on earth; treason against the civil government was treason against Christ; and reciprocally, as the gospel had the right paramount, blasphemy, or what a jury should call blasphemy, was the highest offence in the catalogue of crimes. To deny any book of the Old or New Testament to be the written and infallible word of God, was punishable by fine or by stripes, and, in case of obstinacy, by exile or death. Absence from "the ministry of the word" was punished by a fine.

In 1653, the liberty of prophesying was refused, except the approbation of four elders, or of a county court, had been obtained; and at last, in 1658, the general court claimed for itself, for the council, and for any two organic churches, the right of silencing any person who was not as yet ordained. Thus was Laud justified by the men whom he had wronged.

But if the Baptists were feared, as professing doc-



trines tending to disorganize society, how much more reason was there to dread such emissaries of the Quakers as appeared in Massachusetts!

The rise of "the people called Quakers" was one of the most remarkable results of the Protestant revolution. It was a consequence of the aspiration of the human mind after a perfect emancipation from the long reign of bigotry and superstition. It grew up with men who were impatient at the tardy advances of intellectual liberty. In the month of July, 1656, two of its members, Mary Fisher and Anne Austin, arrived in the road before Boston. There was as yet no statute respecting Quakers; but, on the general law against heresy, their trunks were searched, and their books burnt by the hangman; "though no token could be found on them but of innocence," their persons were examined for signs of witchcraft; and, after five weeks' close imprisonment, they were thrust out of the jurisdiction. Eight others were, during the year, sent back to England. The rebuke enlarged the ambition of Mary Fisher; she repaired alone to Adrianople, and delivered a message to the grand sultan. The Turks thought her crazed, and she passed through their army "without hurt or scoff."

Yet the next year, although a special law now prohibited the introduction of Quakers, Mary Dyar, an Antinomian exile, and Anne Burden, came into the colony; the former was claimed by her husband, and taken to Rhode Island; the latter was sent to England. A woman who had come all the way from London, to warn the magistrates against persecution, was whipped with twenty stripes. Some, who had been banished, came a second time; they were imprisoned, whipped, and once more sent away, under penalty of further punishment, if they returned again. A fine was imposed on such as should entertain any "of the accursed sect;" and a Quaker, after the first conviction, was to lose one ear — after the second, another — after the third, to have the tongue bored with a red-hot iron. The order for mutilation was soon repealed, and was never printed. But

this legislation was fruitful of results. Quakers swarmed where they were feared. They came expressly because they were not welcome; and threats were construed as invitations. In 1653, a penalty of ten shillings was imposed on every person for being present at a Quaker meeting, and of five pounds for speaking at such meeting. In the execution of the laws, the pride of consistency involved the magistrates in acts of extreme cruelty.

Banishment, on pain of death, was a menace familiar to the English statute-book; and precedents in its favor might be found not only in the acts of Elizabeth, but in the judgments of the Long Parliament. It had already been applied, in Massachusetts, against Jesuits. By the advice of the commissioners for the United Colonies; from which the younger Winthrop alone had dissented, the general court, after much resistance, and by a majority of but a single vote, banished Quakers on pain of death. "For the security of the flock," said Norton, "we pen up the wolf; but a door is purposely left open whereby he may depart at his pleasure." Vain legislation! and frivolous apology! The soul, by its freedom and immortality, preserves its convictions or its frenzies even in death.

In September, 1659, of four persons, ordered to depart the jurisdiction on pain of death, Mary Dyar, a firm disciple of Anne Hutchinson, whose exile she had shared, and Nicholas Davis, obeyed. Marmaduke Stephenson and William Robinson had come on purpose to offer their lives; instead of departing, they went from place to place "to build up their friends in the faith." In October, Mary Dyar returned. Thus there were three persons arraigned on the sanguinary law. Robinson pleaded in his defence the special message and command of God. "Blessed be God, who calls me to testify against wicked and unjust men." Stephenson refused to speak till sentence had been pronounced; and then he imprecated a curse on his judges. Mary Dyar exclaimed, "The will of the Lord be done!" and returned to the prison "full of joy." From the jail she

wrote a remonstrance. "Were ever such laws heard of among a people that profess Christ come in the flesh? Have you no other weapons but such laws to fight against spiritual wickedness withal, as you call it? Woe is me for you! Ye are disobedient and deceived." The three were led forth to execution. "I die for Christ," said Robinson. "We suffer not as evil-doers, but for conscience' sake," were the last words of his companion. Mary Dyar was reprieved; yet not till the rope had been fastened round her neck, and she had prepared herself for death. Transported with enthusiasm, she exclaimed, "Let me suffer as my brethren, unless you will annul your wicked law!" She was conveyed out of the colony; but, soon returning, she also was hanged on Boston common, a willing martyr to liberty of conscience. "We desired their lives absent, rather than their deaths present," was the miserable apology for these proceedings.

These cruelties excited great discontent. Yet William Leddra was put upon trial for the same causes. While the trial was proceeding, Wenlock Christison, already banished on pain of death, entered the court, and struck dismay into the judges, who found their severities ineffectual. Leddra was desired to accept his life, on condition of promising to come no more within the jurisdiction. He refused, and was hanged.

Christison addressed his persecutors with undaunted courage. "Can you make laws repugnant to those of England?" "No." "Then you are gone beyond your bounds. Your heart is as rotten towards the king as towards God. I demand to be tried by the laws of England, and there is no law there to hang Quakers." "The English banish Jesuits on pain of death," it was answered, "and with equal justice we may banish Quakers." The jury returned a verdict of guilty. Wenlock replied, "I deny all guilt; my conscience is clear before God." The magistrates were divided in pronouncing sentence; Endicot fretted at their wavering, and on a second vote there appeared a majority for the doom of death. "What

do you gain," cried Christison, "by taking Quakers' lives? For the last man that ye put to death, here are five come in his room. If ye have power to take my life, God can raise up ten of his servants in my stead."

The voice of the people had always been averse to bloodshed; the magistrates, infatuated for a season, became convinced of their error. After some delay, in 1661, Wenlock, with twenty-seven of his friends, was discharged from prison; and causes were already in action which were fast substituting the charity of intelligence for the ruthlessness of bigotry.

It was ever the custom, and it early became the law, in Puritan New England, that "none of the brethren shall suffer so much barbarism in their families, as not to teach their children and apprentices so much learning as may enable them perfectly to read the English tongue." "To the end that learning may not be buried in the graves of our forefathers," it was ordered in all the Puritan colonies, "that every township, after the Lord hath increased them to the number of fifty householders, shall appoint one to teach all children to write and read; and where any town shall increase to the number of one hundred families, they shall set up a grammar school; the masters thereof being able to instruct youth so far as they may be fitted for the university." The press began its work in 1639. "When New England was poor, and they were but few in number, there was a spirit to encourage learning." Six years after the arrival of Winthrop, the general court voted a sum equal to a year's rate of the whole colony towards the erection of a college. In 1638, John Harvard, who arrived in the Bay only to fall a victim to the most wasting disease of the climate, desiring to connect himself imperishably with the happiness of his adopted country, bequeathed to the college one half of his estate and all his library. The infant institution was a favorite; Connecticut, and Plymouth, and the towns in the east, often contributed little offerings to promote its success; the gift of the rent of a ferry proved the care of the

state ; and once, at least, every family in each of the colonies gave to the college at Cambridge twelve pence, or a peck of corn, or its value in unadulterated wampumpeag. In these measures, especially in the laws establishing common schools, lies the secret of the success and character of New England. Every child, as it was born into the world, was lifted from the earth by the genius of the country, and, in the statutes of the land, received, as its birthright, a pledge of the public care for its morals and its mind.

There are some who love to enumerate the singularities of the early Puritans. They were opposed to wigs ; they could preach against veils ; they denounced long hair ; they disliked the cross in the banner, as much as the people of Paris disliked the lilies of the Bourbons, and for analogous reasons. They would not allow Christmas day to be kept sacred ; they called neither months, nor days, nor seasons, nor churches, nor inns, by the names common in England ; they revived Scripture names at christenings. The grave Romans legislated on the costume of men, and their senate could even stoop to interfere with the triumphs of the sex to which civic honors are denied : the fathers of New England prohibited frivolous fashions in their own dress ; and their austerity, checking extravagance even in woman, frowned on her hoods of silk and her scarfs of tiffany, extended the length of her sleeve to the wrist, and limited its greatest width to half an ell. But these are only the outward forms, which gave to the new sect its marked exterior. If from the outside peculiarities, which so easily excite the sneer of the superficial observer, we look to the genius of the sect itself, Puritanism was Religion struggling for the People. " Its absurdities," says its enemy, " were the shelter for the noble principles of liberty." It was its office to engraft the new institutions of popular energy upon the old European system of a feudal aristocracy and popular servitude : the good was permanent ; the outward emblems, which were the signs of the party, were of tran-



sient duration — like the clay and ligaments with which the graft is held in its place, and which are brushed away as soon as the scion is firmly united.

The principles of Puritanism proclaimed the civil magistrate subordinate to the authority of religion; and its haughtiness in this respect has been compared to “the infatuated arrogance” of a Roman pontiff. In the firmness with which the principle was asserted, the Puritans did not yield to the Catholics; and, if the will of God is the criterion of justice, both were, in one sense, in the right. The question arises, Who shall be the interpreter of that will? In the Roman Catholic church, the office was claimed by the infallible pontiff, who, as the self-constituted guardian of the oppressed, insisted on the power of dethroning kings, repealing laws, and subverting dynasties. The principle thus asserted, though often productive of good, could not but become subservient to the temporal ambition of the clergy. Puritanism conceded no such power to its spiritual guides; the church existed independent of its pastor, who owed his office to its free choice; the will of the majority was its law; and each one of the brethren possessed equal rights with the elders. The right, exercised by each congregation, of electing its own ministers, was in itself a moral revolution; religion was now with the people, not over the people. Puritanism exalted the laity. It constituted, not the Christian clergy, but the Christian people, the interpreter of the divine will. The voice of the majority was the voice of God; and the issue of Puritanism was therefore popular sovereignty.

The effects of Puritanism display its true character still more distinctly. Ecclesiastical tyranny is of all kinds the worst; its fruits are cowardice, idleness, ignorance, and poverty. Puritanism was a life-giving spirit; activity, thrift, intelligence, followed in its train; and as for courage, a coward and a Puritan never went together. “He that prays best, and preaches best, will fight best;” — such was the judgment of Cromwell, the greatest soldier of his age.



It was in self-defence that Puritanism in America began those transient persecutions which shall find in me no apologist; and which yet were no more than a train of morning mists, hovering over the channel of a fine river, that diffused freshness and fertility wherever it wound. The people did not attempt to convert others, but to protect themselves; they never attempted to torture men into orthodoxy. The history of religious persecution in New England is simply this;—the Puritans established a government in America, such as the laws of natural justice warranted, and such as the statutes and common law of England did not warrant; and this was done by men who still acknowledged the duty of a limited allegiance to the parent state. The Episcopalians had declared themselves the enemies of the party, and waged against it a war of extermination; Puritanism excluded them from its asylum. Roger Williams, the apostle of “soul-liberty,” weakened the cause of civil independence by impairing its unity; and he was expelled, even though Massachusetts bore good testimony to his spotless virtues. Wheelwright and his friends, forgetting their duty as Americans, asserted the right of appeal to England, and they also were exiled. The Anabaptist, who could not be relied upon as an ally, was guarded as a foe. The Quakers denounced, not only the worship of New England as an abomination, but its government as treason; and therefore they were excluded on pain of death. The fanatic for Calvinism was a fanatic for liberty; and he defended his creed, as his best ally in the moral warfare for freedom.

For “New England was a religious plantation, not a plantation for trade. The profession of the purity of doctrine, worship, and discipline, was written on her forehead.” “We all,” say the confederates, in the oldest of American written constitutions, “came into these parts of America to enjoy the liberties of the gospel in purity and peace.” “He that made religion as twelve, and the world as thirteen, had not the spirit of

a true New England man." Religion was the object of the emigrants, and their consolation. With this the wounds of the outcast were healed, and the tears of exile sweetened. "New England was the colony of conscience."

Of all contemporary sects, the Puritans were the most free from credulity, and, in their zeal for reform, pushed their regulations to what some would consider a skeptical extreme. So many superstitions had been bundled up with every venerable institution of Europe, that ages have not yet dislodged them all. The Puritans at once emancipated themselves from a crowd of observances. They established a worship purely spiritual. To them the elements remained but wine and bread; they invoked no saints; they raised no altar; they adored no crucifix; they kissed no book; they asked no absolution; they paid no tithes; they saw in the priest nothing more than a man; ordination was no more than an approbation of the officer, which might be expressed by the brethren, as well as by other ministers; the church, as a place of worship, was to them but a meeting-house; they dug no graves in consecrated earth; unlike their posterity, they married without a minister, and buried the dead without a prayer. Witchcraft had not been made the subject of skeptical consideration; and in the years in which Scotland sacrificed hecatombs to the delusion, there were three victims in New England. Dark crimes, that seemed without a motive, may have been pursued under that name; I find one record of a trial for witchcraft, where the prisoner was proved a murderess.

On every subject but religion, the mildness of Puritan legislation corresponded to the popular character of Puritan doctrines. Hardly a nation of Europe has as yet made its criminal law so humane as that of early New England. A crowd of offences was at one sweep brushed from the catalogue of capital crimes. The idea was never received, that the forfeiture of life may be demanded for the protection of property; the pun-

ishment for theft, for burglary, and highway robbery, was far more mild than the penalties imposed even by modern American legislation.

The benevolence of the early Puritans appears from other examples. Their thoughts were always fixed on posterity. Domestic discipline was highly valued: the law was severe against the undutiful child; it was also severe against a faithless parent. The slave trade was forbidden under penalty of death. The earliest laws, till 1654, did not permit any man's person to be kept in prison for debt, except when there was an appearance of some estate which the debtor would not produce. Even the brute creation was not forgotten; and cruelty towards animals was a civil offence. The sympathies of the colonists were wide; a regard for Protestant Germany is as old as emigration; and, during the thirty years' war, the people of New England held fasts and offered prayers for the success of their Saxon brethren.

The first years of the residence of Puritans in America were years of great hardship and affliction; it is an error to suppose that this short season of distress was not promptly followed by abundance and happiness. The people were full of affections; and the objects of love were around them. They struck root in the soil immediately. They were, from the first, industrious, and enterprising, and frugal; and affluence followed of course. When persecution ceased in England, there were already in New England "thousands who would not change their place for any other in the world;" and they were tempted in vain with invitations to the Bahama Isles, to Ireland, to Jamaica, to Trinidad. The purity of morals completes the picture of colonial felicity. "As Ireland will not brook venomous beasts, so will not that land vile livers." One might dwell there "from year to year, and not see a drunkard, or hear an oath, or meet a beggar." The consequence was universal health. Such was the average duration of life in New England, that of all who were born into the world, more than two in ten, full four in nineteen, at-

tained the age of seventy. Of those who lived beyond ninety, the proportion, as compared with European tables of longevity, was still more remarkable.

I have dwelt the longer on the character of the early Puritans of New England, for they are the parents of nearly one third of the white population of the United States. Within the first fifteen years — and there was never afterwards any considerable increase from England — we have seen that there came over twenty-one thousand two hundred persons, or four thousand families. Their descendants are now more than four millions. Each family has multiplied, on the average, to more than one thousand souls. To New York and Ohio, where they constitute half the population, they have carried the Puritan system of free schools; and their example is spreading it through the civilized world.

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## CHAPTER XIX.

### THE RESTORATION OF THE STUARTS.

THE golden age of Puritanism was passing away. Time was silently softening its asperities, and revolutions prepared an era in its fortunes. Massachusetts never acknowledged Richard Cromwell; it read clearly in the aspect of parties the impending restoration. The government of Oliver Cromwell had been but a state of transition. He did not connect himself with the revolution, for he put himself above it, and controlled it; nor with the monarchy, for he was an active promoter of the execution of Charles; nor with the Church, for he subverted it; nor with the Presbyterians, for he barely tolerated their worship, without gratifying their ambition. He rested on himself; his own genius and his own personal resources were the basis of his power.

Having subdued the revolution, there was no firm obstacle but himself to the restoration of the Stuarts, and his death was necessarily a signal for new revolutions.

The accession of Richard met with no instant opposition; for the tranquillity of expectation preceded the impending change. Like his father, he had no party in the nation; unlike his father, he had no capacity for public affairs. The restoration of the Stuarts was already resolved upon by the people of England. Richard convoked a parliament only to dissolve it; he could not control the army, and he could not govern England without the army. Involved in perplexities, he resigned. His accession had changed nothing; his abdication changed nothing; content to be the scoff of the proud, he had wisely acted upon the consciousness of his incompetency, and, in the bosom of private life, remote from wars, from ambition, from power, he lived to extreme old age in the serene enjoyment of tranquil affections and of a gentle and modest temper. English politics went forward in their course.

The council of officers, the revival of the "interrupted" Long Parliament, the intrigues of Fleetwood and Desborough, the transient elevation of Lambert, were but a series of unsuccessful attempts to defeat the wishes of the people. Every new effort was soon a failure; and each successive failure did but expose the enemies of royalty to increased indignation and contempt. In vain did Milton forebode that, "of all governments, that of a restored king is the worst;" nothing could long delay the restoration. The fanaticism which had made the revolution, had burnt out, and was now a spent volcano. When Monk marched his army from Scotland into England, he was only the instrument of the restoration, not its author; he did but hold the Presbyterians in check, and, prodigal of perjuries to the last, he prevented the adoption of any treaty or binding compact between the returning monarch and the people.

Yet the want of such a compact could not alarm the determined enthusiasm of the people of England. Mis-



fortunes, and the fate of Charles I., were taken as sureties that Charles II. had learned moderation in the school of exile and sorrow; and his return could have nothing humiliating for the English people, for it was the nation itself that recalled its sovereign. Every party that had opposed the dynasty of the Stuarts, had failed in the attempt to give England a government; the constitutional royalists, the Presbyterians, the Independents, the Long Parliament, the army, had all in their turn been unsuccessful; the English, preserving a latent zeal for their ancient liberties, were yet at the time inflamed and carried away with a passionate desire of their ancient king. The Long Parliament is reassembled; the Presbyterians, expelled before the trial of Charles, resume their seats; and the parliament is dissolved, to be succeeded by a new assembly. The king's return is at hand. They who had been its latest advocates, now endeavor to throw oblivion on their hesitancy by the excess of loyalty; men vie with one another in the display of zeal for the restoration; no one is disposed to gain the certain ill-will of the monarch by proposing conditions which might not be seconded; men forget their country in their zeal for the king; they forget liberty in their eagerness to advance their fortunes; a vague proclamation on the part of Charles II., promising a general amnesty, fidelity to the Protestant religion, regard for tender consciences, and respect for the English laws, was the only pledge from the sovereign.—And now, after twenty years of storms, the light of peace dawns in the horizon. All England was in ecstasy. Groups of royalists gathered round buckets of wine in the streets, and drank the king's health on their knees. The bells in every steeple rung merry peals; the bonfires round London were so numerous and so brilliant, that the city seemed encircled with a halo; and as, on the twenty-fifth of May, 1660, the exiled monarch landed on the soil of England, he was received by infinite crowds with all imaginable love. The shouting and general joy were past imagination. On the journey from Dover to London, the hil-



locks all the way were covered with people; the trees were filled; and such was the prodigality of flowers from maidens, such the acclamations from throngs of men, that the whole kingdom seemed gathered along the road-sides. The companies of the city received the king with loud thanks to God for his presence; and he advanced to Whitehall through serried ranks of admiring citizens.

In the midst of the universal gladness, the triumph of the royalist party was undisputed. The arms of the commonwealth, and the emblems of republicanism, were defaced and burned with every expression of hatred and scorn. The democratic party, which Cromwell had subdued, was now politically extinct; its adherents sought obscurity among the crowd, while its leaders were obliged to hide themselves from the feverish excitement of popular anger. The melancholic inflexibility and the self-denying austerity of republicanism were out of vogue; levity and licentiousness were now in fashion. Every party that had opposed royalty had, in the eagerness of political strife, failed to establish a government on a permanent basis. England remembered that, under its monarchs, it had elected parliaments, enjoyed the trial by jury, and prospered in affluent tranquillity. Except in New England, royalty was now alone in favor.

The immediate effects of the restoration were saddened by the bitterness of revenge. All the regicides that were seized would have perished, but for Charles II., whom good nature led at last to exclaim, "I am tired of hanging, except for new offences." All haste was, however, made to despatch half a score of victims, as if to appease the shade of Charles I.; and among the selected victims was Hugh Peters, once the minister of Salem, the father-in-law of the younger Winthrop; one whom Roger Williams honored and loved, and whom Milton is supposed to include among

"Men whose life, learning, faith, and pure intent,  
Would have been held in high esteem with Paul."

As a preacher, his homely energy resembled the eloquence of Latimer and the earlier divines; in Salem he won general affection; he was ever zealous to advance the interests and quicken the industry of New England, and had assisted in founding the earliest college. His was the fanaticism of an ill-balanced mind, mastered by great ideas, which it imperfectly comprehends; and therefore he repelled monarchy and Episcopacy with excited passion. Though he was not himself a regicide, his zeal made him virtually an accomplice, by his influence over others. He could not consider consequences, and zeal overwhelmed his judgment. Nor was he entirely free from that bigotry which refuses to extend the rights of humanity beyond its own altars; he could thank God for the massacres of Cromwell in Ireland. And yet benevolence was deeply fixed in his heart; he ever advocated the rights of the feeble, and pleaded for the sufferings of the poor. Of his whole career it was said, that "many godly in New England dared not condemn what Hugh Peters had done." His arraignment, his trial, and his execution, were scenes of wanton injustice. He was allowed no counsel; and, indeed, his death had been resolved upon beforehand, though even false witnesses did not substantiate the specific charges urged against him. His last thoughts reverted to Massachusetts. "Go home to New England, and trust God there;" it was his final counsel to his daughter. At the gallows, to which he was brought on the fourteenth day of October, 1660, he was compelled to wait while the body of his friend Cooke, who had just been hanged, was cut down and quartered before his eyes. "How like you this?" cried the executioner, rubbing his bloody hands. "I thank God," replied the martyr, "I am not terrified at it; you may do your worst." To his friends he said, "Weep not for me; my heart is full of comfort;" and he smiled as he made himself ready to leave the world. Even death could not save him from his enemies; the bias of party corrupts the judgment, and cruelty justified itself by de-

faming its victim. So perished a freeman of Massachusetts — the first who lost his life for opposition to monarchy. The blood of Massachusetts was destined to flow freely on the field of battle for the same cause; the streams were first opened beneath the gallows.

The regicides, who had at nearly the same time been condemned to death, did not abate their confidence in their cause. Alone against a nation, pride of character blended with religious fervor and political enthusiasm. Death under the horrid forms which a barbarous age had devised, and a barbarous jurisprudence still tolerated, they could meet with serenity, or with exultation. The voice within their breasts still approved what they had done; a better world seemed opening to receive them; and, as they ascended the scaffold, their undaunted composure and lofty resignation seemed to call on earth and heaven to witness how unjustly they suffered.

But it was not enough to punish the living; vengeance invaded the tombs. The corpses of Cromwell, Bradshaw, and Ireton, were, by the order of both houses of parliament, and with the approbation of the king, disinterred, dragged on hurdles to Tyburn, and regularly hanged at the three corners of the gallows. In the evening, the same bodies were cut down and beheaded, amidst the exulting merriment of the Cavaliers. Such is revenge!

Of the judges of King Charles I., three escaped to America. Edward Whalley — who had first won laurels in the field of Naseby, had ever enjoyed the confidence of Cromwell, and remained to the last an enemy to the Stuarts, and a friend to the interests of the Independents — and William Goffe — a firm friend to the family of Cromwell, a good soldier, and an ardent partisan, but ignorant of the true principles of freedom — arrived in Boston, where Endicot, the governor, received them with courtesy. For nearly a year, they resided unmolested within the limits of Massachusetts, holding meetings in every house, where they preached and prayed, and gained universal applause. When warrants arrived from England for their apprehension, they, in 1661,

fled across the country to New Haven, where it was esteemed a crime against God to bewray the wanderer or give up the outcast. Yet such diligent search was made for them, that they never were in security. For a time they removed in secrecy from house to house; sometimes concealed themselves in a mill, sometimes in clefts of the rocks by the sea-side; and for weeks together, and even for months, they dwelt in a cave in the forest. Great rewards were offered for their apprehension; Indians as well as English were urged to scour the woods in quest of their hiding-place, as men hunt for the holes of foxes. When the zeal of the search was nearly over, they retired to a little village on the Sound; till at last they escaped by night to an appointed place of refuge in Hadley, and the solitudes of the most beautiful valley of New England gave shelter to their wearisome and repining age.

John Dixwell, more fortunate, was able to live undiscovered. Changing his name, and becoming absorbed among the inhabitants of New Haven, he married, and lived peacefully and happily.

Retributive justice, thought many, required the execution of regicides. One victim was selected for his genius and integrity; such was the terror inspired by their influence. Now that all England was carried away with eagerness for monarchy, Sir Henry Vane, the former governor of Massachusetts, the benefactor of Rhode Island, the ever-faithful friend of New England, adhered with undaunted firmness to "the glorious cause" of popular liberty.

The convention parliament had excepted Vane from the indemnity, on the king's promise that he should not suffer death. In June, 1662, it was resolved to bring him to trial; and he turned his trial into a triumph. Though "before supposed to be a timorous man," he appeared before his judges with animated fearlessness. Instead of offering apologies for his career, he denied the imputation of treason with settled scorn, defended the right of Englishmen to be governed by successive

representatives, and took glory to himself for actions which promoted the good of England, and were sanctioned by parliament, as the virtual sovereign of the realm. He spoke not for his life and estate, but for the honor of the martyrs to liberty that were in their graves, for the liberties of England, for the interest "of all posterity in time to come."

The day before his execution, his friends were admitted to his prison; and he cheered their drooping spirits by his own serene intrepidity, reasoning calmly on death and immortality. He reviewed his political career, from the day when he defended Anne Hutchinson, to his last struggle for English liberties, and could say, "I have not the least recoil in my heart as to matter or manner of what I have done." A friend advised prayer, that for the present the cup of death might be put away. "Why should we fear death?" answered Vane; "I find it rather shrinks from me, than I from it." His children gathered round him, and he stooped to embrace them, mingling consolation with kisses. "The Lord will be a better father to you." "Be not you troubled, for I am going home to my Father." And his farewell counsel was, "Suffer any thing from men rather than sin against God." When his family had withdrawn, he declared his life to be willingly offered to confirm the wavering, and convince the ignorant. The cause of popular liberty still seemed to him a glorious cause. "I leave my life as a seal to the justness of that quarrel. Ten thousand deaths, rather than defile the chastity of my conscience! nor would I, for ten thousand worlds, resign the peace and satisfaction I have in my heart."

The plebeian Hugh Peters had been hanged; Sir Henry Vane was to suffer on the block. The same cheerful resignation animated him on the day of his execution. As the procession moved through the streets, men from the windows and tops of houses expressed their sorrow, pouring out prayers for him as he passed by; and the people shouted aloud, "God go with you!" Arrived on the scaffold, he was observable above all



others by the intrepidity of his demeanor. Surveying the vast surrounding multitude with composure, he addressed them, and sought to awaken in their souls the love of English liberty. His voice was overpowered with trumpets; finding he could not bear an audible testimony to his principles, he was not in the least disconcerted by the rudeness, but, in the serenity of his manner, continued to show with what calmness an honest patriot could die. With unbroken trust in Providence, he believed in the progress of civilization; and while he reminded those around him, that "he had foretold the dark clouds which were coming thicker and thicker for a season," it was still "most clear to the eye of his faith," that a better day would dawn in the clouds. "Blessed be God," exclaimed he, as he bared his neck for the axe, "I have kept a conscience void of offence to this day, and have not deserted the righteous cause for which I suffer." That righteous cause was democratic liberty; in the history of the world, he was the first martyr to the principle of the paramount power of the people; and, as he had predicted, "his blood gained a voice to speak his innocence." The manner of his death was the admiration of his times.

Puritanism, with the sects to which it gave birth, ceased to sway the destinies of England. The army of Cromwell had displayed its power in the field; Milton, having shown the eloquence it could inspire, still lived to illustrate what poetry it could create, in works that are among the noblest productions of the human mind; Vane proved how fearlessly it could bear testimony for liberty in the face of death; New England is the monument of its power to establish free states. The ancient institutions of England would not yield to new popular establishments; but the bloom of immortality belongs to the example of Vane, to the poetry of Milton, and, let us hope, to the institutions of New England.

To New England the revolutions in the mother country were not indifferent; the American colonies attracted the notice of the courts of justice in West-



minster Hall. They were held alike by the nature of the English constitution, and the principles of the common law, to be subordinate to the English parliament, and bound by its acts, whenever they were specially named in a statute, or were clearly embraced within its provisions. An issue was thus made between Massachusetts and England; for that colony had refused to be subject to the laws of parliament, and had remonstrated against such subjection as "the loss of English liberty." The Long Parliament had conceded the justice of the remonstrance. The judges, on the restoration, decreed otherwise, and asserted the legislative supremacy of parliament over the colonies without restriction. Such was the established common law of England.

It was not claimed that the colonies were bound by a statute, unless they were expressly named; but that distinctness was not wanting, whenever it was required by the interests of English merchants. The navigation act of the commonwealth had not been designed to trammel the commerce of the colonies; the convention parliament, the same body which betrayed the liberties of England, by restoring the Stuarts without conditions, now, by the most memorable statute in the English maritime code, connected in one act the protection of English shipping, and a monopoly to the English merchant of the trade with the colonies. In the reign of Richard II., the commerce of English ports had been secured to English shipping: the act of navigation of 1651 had done no more; and against it the colonists made no serious objection. The present act renewed the same provisions, and further avowed the design of sacrificing the natural rights of the colonists to English interests. "No merchandise shall be imported into the plantations but in English vessels, navigated by Englishmen, under penalty of forfeiture." The harbors of the colonies were shut against the Dutch, and every foreign vessel. America, as the asylum of the oppressed, invited emigrants from the most varied climes. In 1660, it was enacted, that none but native or naturalized sub-

jects should become merchants or factors in any English settlement; excluding the colonists from the benefits of a foreign competition.

American industry produced articles for exportation; but these articles were of two kinds. Some were produced in quantities only in America, and would not compete in the English market with English productions. These were enumerated; and it was declared that none of them — that is, no sugar, tobacco, ginger, indigo, cotton, fustic, dyeing woods — should be transported to any other country than those belonging to the crown of England, under penalty of forfeiture; and as new articles of industry of this class grew up in America, they were added to the list. But such other commodities as the English merchant might not find convenient to buy, the American planter might ship to foreign markets; the farther off the better; because they would thus interfere less with trades in England. The colonists were, therefore, by a clause in the navigation act, confined to ports south of Cape Finisterre.

Hardly had time enough elapsed for a voyage or two across the Atlantic, before it was found that the English merchant might derive still further advantages at the cost of the colonists, by the imposition of still further restraints. A new law prohibited the importation of European commodities into the colonies, except in English ships from England, to the end that England might be made the staple, not only of colonial productions, but of colonial supplies. Thus the colonists were compelled to buy in England, not only all English manufactures, but every thing else that they might need from any soil but their own.

The activity of the shipping of New England, which should only have excited admiration, excited envy in the minds of the English merchants. Some of the produce of the southern colonies was brought to the north as a result of the little colonial exchanges. To the extravagant fears of mercantile avarice, New England was become a staple. Parliament, therefore, restricted the

traffic between the colonies ; and any of the enumerated commodities exported from one colony to another, were subjected to a duty equivalent to the duty on the consumption of these commodities in England.

By degrees, avarice became bolder ; and America was forbidden, by act of parliament, not merely to manufacture those articles which might compete with the English in foreign markets, but even to supply herself, by her own industry, with those which her position enabled her to manufacture with success.

Thus was the policy of Great Britain, with respect to her colonies, a system of monopoly, adopted after the example of Spain, and, for more than a century, inflexibly pursued, in no less than twenty-nine acts of parliament. The colonists were allowed to sell to foreigners only what England would not take, that so they might gain means to pay for the articles forced upon them by England. The commercial liberties of rising states were shackled by paper chains, and the principles of natural justice subjected to the fears and the covetousness of English shopkeepers.

The effects of this system were baleful to the colonies. They could buy European and all foreign commodities only at the shops of the metropolis ; and thus the merchant of the mother country could sell his goods for a little more than they were worth. England gained at the expense of America. The profit of the one was balanced by the loss of the other.

In the sale of their products the colonists were equally injured. The English, being the sole purchasers, could obtain those products at a little less than their fair value. The merchant of Bristol or London was made richer ; the planter of Virginia or Maryland was made poorer. No new value was created ; one lost what the other gained ; and both parties had equal claims to the benevolence of the legislature.

Thus the colonists were wronged, both in their purchases and in their sales ; the law "cut them with a double edge." The English consumer gained nothing ;

for the surplus colonial produce was reëxported to other nations. The English merchant, and not the English people, profited by the injustice. The English people were sufferers. Not that the undue employment of wealth in the colonial trade occasioned an injurious scarcity in other branches of industry; for the increased productiveness of capital soon yielded a larger supply than ever for all kinds of business; just as a fortune doubles rapidly at a high rate of interest. But the navigation act involved the foreign policy of England in contradictions; she was herself a monopolist of her own colonial trade, and yet steadily aimed at enfranchising the trade of the Spanish settlements. Hence arose a set of relations which we shall find pregnant with consequences.

In the domestic policy of England, the act increased the tendency to unequal legislation. The English merchant having become the sole factor for American colonies, and the manufacturer claiming to supply colonial wants, the English landholder consented to uphold the artificial system only by sharing in its emoluments; and corn-laws began to be enacted, to secure agriculture against foreign competition. Thus the system which impoverished the Virginia planter, by lowering the price of his tobacco crop, oppressed the British laborer, by raising the price of his bread; till at last an English ministry could offer a bounty on the exportation of corn.

The law was still more injurious to England, from its influence on the connection between the colonies and the metropolis. Durable relations in society are correlative, and reciprocally beneficial. In this case, the statute was made by one party to bind the other, and was made on iniquitous principles. Established as the law of the strongest, it could endure no longer than the superiority in force. It converted commerce, which should be the bond of peace, into a source of rankling hostility, and scattered the certain seeds of a civil war. The navigation act contained a pledge of the ultimate independence of America.

To the colonists, the navigation act was, at the time,

an unmitigated evil; for the prohibition of planting tobacco in England and Ireland was a useless mockery.

As a mode of taxing the colonies, the monopoly was a failure; the contribution was made to the pocket of the merchant, not to the treasury of the metropolis.

The usual excuse for colonial restrictions is founded on the principle that colonies were established at the cost of the mother country for that very purpose. In the case of the American colonies, the apology cannot be urged. The state founded none of them. The colonists escaped from the mother country, and had, at their own cost, and by their own toil, made for themselves dwellings in the New World. Virginia was founded by a private company; New England was the home of exiles. England thrust them out, and owned them as her children only to oppress them.

Again, it was said that the commercial losses of the colonists were compensated by protection. But the connection with Europe was fraught only with danger; for the rivalry of European nations did but transfer the scenes of their bloody feuds to the wilds of America.

The monopoly, it must be allowed, was of the least injurious kind. It was conceded, not to an individual, nor to a company, nor to a single city, but was open to the competition of all Englishmen.

The history of the navigation act would be incomplete, were it not added, that, whatever party obtained a majority, it never, till the colonies gained great strength, occurred to the British parliament that the legislation was a wrong. Bigotry is not exclusively a passion of religious superstition. Its root is in the human heart, and it is reproduced in every age. Blinding the intellectual eye, and comprehending no passion but its own, it is the passionate and partial defence of an existing interest. The Antonines of Rome, or, not to go beyond English history, Elizabeth and Charles I., did not question the divine right of absolute power. "Were Nero in power," said Cromwell himself, when Protector, "it would be a duty to



submit." When Laud was arraigned, "Can any one believe me a traitor?" exclaimed the astonished prelate, with real surprise. The Cavaliers, in the civil war, did not doubt the sanctity of the privileges of birth; and now the English parliament, as the instrument of mercantile avarice, had no scruple in commencing the legislation, which, when the colonists grew powerful, was, by the greatest British economist, declared to be "a manifest violation of the rights of mankind."

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## CHAPTER XX.

### CHARLES II. AND THE COLONIES.

SUCH was the disposition of the English parliament towards the colonies: the changes in their internal constitutions were to depend on the personal character of the monarch whom England had taken into favor. His best trait was his natural kindness; and had he preserved purity of morals, Charles II. would have been one of the most amiable of men. But it was his misfortune, in very early life, to have become thoroughly debauched in mind and heart; and adversity, usually the rugged nurse of virtue, made the selfish libertine but the more reckless in his profligacy. He did not merely indulge his passions; his neck bowed to their dominion.

Massachusetts, strong in its charter, made no haste to present itself in England as a suppliant. That colony "remained constant to its old maxims of a free state, dependent on none but God." Had the king resolved on sending them a governor, the several towns and churches throughout the whole country were resolved to oppose him.

The colonies of Plymouth, of Hartford, and New



Haven, not less than of Rhode Island, proclaimed the new king, and acted in his name; and the rising republic on the Connecticut appeared in London by its representative, the younger Winthrop, who went, as it were, between the mangled limbs of his father-in-law, to insure the welfare of his fellow-exiles in the west. They had purchased their lands of the assigns of the earl of Warwick, and from Uncas they had bought the territory of the Mohegans; and the news of the restoration led them, in March, 1661, to desire a patent. But the little colony proceeded warily; they draughted among themselves the instrument which they desired the king to ratify; and they could plead for their possessions their rights by purchase, by conquest from the Pequods, and by their own labor, which had redeemed the wilderness.

At the court of Charles II. the venerable Lord Say and Seal, and the "noble and worthy" earl of Manchester, "did join together, that their godly friends in New England might enjoy their just rights and liberties." But the chief happiness of Connecticut was in the selection of its agent.

In the younger Winthrop, the qualities of human excellence were mingled in such happy proportions, that, while he always wore an air of contentment, no enterprise in which he engaged seemed too lofty for his powers. Even as a child, he had been the pride of his father's house. He had received the best instruction which Cambridge and Dublin could afford, and had perfected his education by visiting, in part at least, in the public service, not Holland and France only, in the days of Prince Maurice and Richelieu, but Venice and Constantinople. From boyhood his manners had been spotless; and the purity of his soul added lustre and beauty to the gifts of nature and industry. As he travelled through Europe, he sought the society of men eminent for learning. Returning to England in the bloom of life, with every promise of preferment which genius, gentleness of temper, and influence at court,

could inspire, he preferred to follow his father to the New World; regarding "diversities of countries but as so many inns," alike conducting to "the journey's end." When his father, the father of Massachusetts, became impoverished by his expenses in planting the colony, the pious son, unsolicited and without recompense, relinquished his large inheritance, that "it might be spent in furthering the great work" in Massachusetts; himself, single-handed and without wealth, engaging in the enterprise of planting Connecticut. Care for posterity seemed the motive to his actions. His vast and elevated mind had, moreover, that largeness, that he respected learning, virtue, and genius, in whatever sect they might be found. No narrow bigotry limited his affections or his esteem; and when Quakers had become the objects of persecution, he was ready to beg on his bare knees that they might not be put to death. Master over his own mind, he never regretted the brilliant prospects he had resigned, nor complained of the comparative solitude of New London; a large library furnished employment to his mind; the study of nature, according to the principles of the philosophy of Bacon, was his delight; for "he had a gift in understanding and art;" and his home was endeared by a happy marriage, and "many sweet children." In history he appears by unanimous consent, from early life, without a blemish; and it is the beautiful testimony of his own father, that "God gave him favor in the eyes of all with whom he had to do."

In his interview with Charles II., there is reason to believe he was able to inspire that naturally benevolent monarch with curiosity; perhaps he amused him with accounts of Indian warfare, and descriptions of the marvels of a virgin world. A favorable recollection of Charles I., who had been a friend to his father's father, and who gave to his family an hereditary claim on the Stuarts, was effectually revived. His personal merits, sympathy for his family, his exertions, the petition of the colony, and the real good-will of Clarendon, — for

we must not reject all faith in generous feeling, — easily prevailed to obtain for Connecticut an ample patent. The courtiers of King Charles, who themselves had an eye to possessions in America, suggested no limitations; and perhaps it was believed, that Connecticut would serve to balance the power of Massachusetts.

The charter, which is dated in April, 1662, disregarding the hesitancy of New Haven, the rights of the colony of New Belgium, and the claims of Spain on the Pacific, connected New Haven with Hartford in one colony, of which the limits were extended from the Narraganset River to the Pacific Ocean.

With regard to powers of government, the colonists were allowed to elect all their own officers, to enact their own laws, to administer justice without appeals to England, to inflict punishments, to confer pardons, and, in a word, to exercise every power, deliberative and active. The king, far from reserving a negative on the acts of the colony, did not even require that the laws should be transmitted for his inspection; and no provision was made for the interference of the English government in any event whatever. Connecticut was independent except in name.

After his successful negotiations, and efficient concert in founding the Royal Society, Winthrop returned to America, bringing with him a name which England honored, and which his country should never forget, and resumed his tranquil life in rural retirement. The amalgamation of the two colonies could not be effected without collision; and New Haven had been unwilling to merge itself in the larger colony; the wise moderation of Winthrop was able to reconcile the jarrings, and blend the interests of the United Colonies. The universal approbation of Connecticut followed him throughout the remainder of his life; for twice seven years he continued to be annually elected to the office of her chief magistrate.

And the gratitude of Connecticut was reasonable. The charter which Winthrop had obtained secured to

her an existence of tranquillity which could not be surpassed. The minds of the yeomanry were kept active by the constant exercise of the elective franchise; and, except under James II., there was no such thing in the land as an officer appointed by the English king. Connecticut, from the first, possessed unmixed popular liberty. The government was in honest and upright hands; the little strifes of rivalry never became heated; the magistrates were sometimes persons of no ordinary endowments; but though gifts of learning and genius were valued, the state was content with virtue and single-mindedness; and the public welfare never suffered at the hands of plain men. It was confessed, that "the most wise God hath provided and cut out this part of the world as a refuge and receptacle for all sorts of consciences;" and there never existed a persecuting spirit in Connecticut, while "it had a scholar to their minister in every town or village." Religious knowledge was carried to the highest degree of refinement, alike in its application to moral duties, and to the mysterious questions on the nature of God, of liberty, and of the soul. A hardy race multiplied along the alluvion of the streams, and subdued the more rocky and less inviting fields; and its population, for a century, doubled once in twenty years, in spite of considerable emigration. The strifes of the parent country, though they sometimes occasioned a levy among the sons of the husbandmen, yet never brought an enemy within their borders; tranquillity was within their gates, and the peace of God within their hearts. No fears of midnight ruffians could disturb the sweetness of slumber; the best house required no fastening but a latch, lifted by a string; bolts and locks were unknown.

There was nothing morose in the Connecticut character. It was temperate industry enjoying the abundance which it had created. No great inequalities of condition excited envy, or raised political feuds; wealth could display itself only in a larger house and a fuller barn; and covetousness was satisfied by the tranquil

succession of harvests. There was venison from the hills; salmon, in their season, not less than shad, from the rivers; and sugar from the trees of the forest. For a foreign market little was produced beside cattle; and in return for them but few foreign luxuries stole in. Even so late as 1713, the number of seamen did not exceed one hundred and twenty. The soil had originally been justly divided, or held as common property in trust for the public, and for new comers. Forestalling was successfully resisted; the brood of speculators in land inexorably turned aside. Happiness was enjoyed unconsciously; beneath the rugged exterior humanity wore its sweetest smile. There was for a long time hardly a lawyer in the land. The husbandman who held his own plough, and fed his own cattle, was the great man of the age; no one was superior to the matron, who, with her busy daughters, kept the hum of the wheel incessantly alive, spinning and weaving every article of their dress. Fashion was confined within narrow limits; and pride, which aimed at no grander equipage than a pillion, could exult only in the common splendor of the blue and white linen gown, with short sleeves, coming down to the waist, and in the snow-white flaxen apron, which, primly starched and ironed, was worn on public days by every woman in the land. For there was no revolution except from the time of sowing to the time of reaping—from the plain dress of the week day to the more trim attire of Sunday.

Every family was taught to look upward to God, as to the Fountain of all good. Yet life was not sombre. The spirit of frolic mingled with innocence: religion itself sometimes wore the garb of gayety; and the annual thanksgiving to God was, from primitive times, as joyous as it was sincere.

The frugality of private life had its influence on public expenditure. Half a century after the concession of the charter, the annual expenses of the government did not exceed eight hundred pounds, or four



thousand dollars; and the wages of the chief justice were ten shillings a day while on service. In each county a magistrate acted as judge of probate, and the business was transacted with small expense to the fatherless.

Education was always esteemed a concern of deepest interest, and there were common schools from the first. Nor was it long before a small college, such as the day of small things permitted, began to be established; and Yale owes its birth "to ten worthy fathers, who, in 1700, assembled at Branford, and each one, laying a few volumes on a table, said, 'I give these books for the founding of a college in this colony.'"

But the political education of the people is due to the happy organization of towns, which here, as indeed throughout all New England, constituted each separate settlement a little democracy of itself. It was the natural reproduction of the system, which the instinct of humanity had imperfectly revealed to our Anglo-Saxon ancestors. In the ancient republics, citizenship had been an hereditary privilege. In Connecticut, citizenship was acquired by inhabitancy, — was lost by removal. Each town-meeting was a little legislature, and all inhabitants, the affluent and the more needy, the wise and the foolish, were members with equal franchises. There the taxes of the town were discussed and levied; there the village officers were chosen; there roads were laid out, and bridges voted; there the minister was elected, the representatives to the assembly were instructed. The debate was open to all; wisdom asked no favors; the churl abated nothing of his pretensions. If the patriarch of the village possessed a visible influence, it was an unconscious tribute to superior sagacity.

During the intervening century, we shall rarely have occasion to recur to Connecticut; its institutions were perfected. For a century, with short exceptions, its history is the picture of colonial happiness. To describe its condition is but to enumerate the blessings of self-government, as exercised by a community of



farmers, who have leisure to reflect, who cherish education, and who have neither a nobility nor a populace. How dearly it remembered the parent island, is told by the English names of its towns. Could Charles II. have looked back upon earth, and seen what security his gift of a charter had conferred, he might have gloried in an act which redeemed his life from the charge of having been unproductive of public happiness. The contentment of Connecticut was full to the brim. In a public proclamation under the great seal of the colony, it told the world that its days under the charter were "halcyon days of peace."

Rhode Island was fostered by Charles II. with still greater liberality. When Roger Williams, in 1652, had succeeded in obtaining from the Long Parliament the confirmed union of the territories that now constitute the state, he returned to America, leaving John Clarke as the agent of the colony in England. Never did a young commonwealth possess a more faithful friend; and never did a young people cherish a fonder desire for the enfranchisement of mind. And now that the hereditary monarch was restored and duly acknowledged, they, in October, 1660, avowed their faith that "the gracious hand of Providence would preserve them in their just rights and privileges." "It is much in our hearts," they urged to Charles II., "to hold forth a lively experiment, that a most flourishing civil state may stand, and best be maintained, with a full liberty of religious concernments." The benevolent monarch listened to their petition; it is more remarkable that Clarendon exerted himself for the men who used to describe themselves as having fled from bishops as from wolves; the experiment of religious freedom in a nook of a remote continent, could not appear dangerous; it might at once build up another rival to Massachusetts, and solve a curious problem in the history of man. The charter, therefore, which was delayed only by controversies about bounds, was, in July, 1663, perfected and sealed. The supreme power was committed — the rule

continues to-day — to a governor, deputy-governor, ten assistants, now called senators, and deputies from the towns. Of the inhabitants no oath of allegiance was required; the laws were to be agreeable to those of England, yet with the kind reference “to the constitution of the place, and the nature of the people.” “No person within the said colony,” it was added, “shall be any wise molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question, for any difference in opinion in matters of religion; every person may at all times freely and fully enjoy his own judgment and conscience in matters of religious concerns.”

No joy could be purer than that of the colonists, when the news was spread abroad, that “George Baxter, the most faithful and happy bringer of the charter,” had arrived. On the twenty-fourth of November, the whole body of the people gathered together at Newport, “for the solemn reception of his majesty’s gracious letters patent.” It was “a very great meeting and assembly.” The letters of the agent “were opened, and read with good delivery and attention;” the charter was next taken forth from the precious box that had held it, and “was read by Baxter, in the audience and view of all the people; and the letters with his majesty’s royal stamp, and the broad seal, with much befitting gravity, were held up on high, and presented to the perfect view of the people.” Now Rhode Island was safe; Massachusetts had denied the separate existence of that colony; she must now yield to the willing witness of their sovereign. And how could Rhode Island be otherwise than grateful to Charles II., who had granted all that it had asked, and who relied on its affections, without exacting even the oath of allegiance?

This charter of government, constituting, as it then seemed, a pure democracy, and establishing a political system which few beside the Rhode Islanders themselves believed to be practicable, is still in existence, and is the oldest constitutional charter, now valid, in the world. It has outlived the principles of Clarendon and the pol-

icy of Charles II. The probable population of Rhode Island, at the time of its reception, may have been two thousand five hundred. That number has increased more than forty-fold; and the government, which was hardly thought to contain checks enough on the power of the people, to endure even among shepherds and farmers, protects a dense population, and the accumulations of a widely-extended commerce. Nowhere in the world have life, liberty, and property, been safer than in Rhode Island.

The thanks of the colony were unanimously voted to a triumvirate of benefactors—to “King Charles of England, for his high and inestimable, yea, incomparable favor;” to Clarendon, the historian, the statesman, the prime minister, who had shown “to the colony exceeding great care and love;” and to the modest and virtuous Clarke, the persevering and disinterested envoy, who, during a twelve years’ mission, had sustained himself by his own exertions and a mortgage on his estate; whose whole life was a continued exercise of benevolence, and who, at his death, bequeathed all his possessions for the relief of the needy, and the education of the young. Others have sought office to advance their fortunes; he, like Roger Williams, parted with his little means for the public good. He had powerful enemies in Massachusetts, and left a name without a spot.

The people of Rhode Island, in May, 1664, at the first regular session of their assembly after the acceptance of the charter, and again in 1665, affirmed the great principle of intellectual liberty in its widest scope, and extended it not to Roman Catholics only, but to men of every creed. “Liberty to all persons, as to the worship of God, had been a principle maintained in the colony from the very beginning thereof; and it was much in their hearts to preserve the same liberty forever.”

What more shall we relate of Rhode Island in this early period? That it invented a new mode of voting, since each freeman was obliged to subscribe his name

on the outside of his ballot? that, for a season, it divided its general assembly into two houses — a change which, near the close of the century, was permanently adopted? that it ordered the towns to pay the deputies three shillings a day for their legislative services? that it was importuned by Plymouth, and vexed by Connecticut, on the subject of boundaries? that, asking commercial immunities, it recounted to Clarendon the merits of its bay, “in very deed the most excellent in New England; having harbors safe for the biggest ships that ever sayled the sea, and open when others at the east and west are locked up with stony doors of ice”? It is a more interesting question if the rights of conscience and the freedom of mind were strictly respected.

There have not been wanting those who have charged Rhode Island with persecuting the Quakers. The calumny has not even a plausible foundation. The royal commissioners, in 1665, less charitable than the charter, required the oath of allegiance; the general assembly, scrupulous in its respect for the rights of conscience, would listen to no proposition except for an engagement of fidelity, and due obedience to the laws. To refuse the engagement was to forfeit the elective franchise. Could a milder course have been proposed? When, by experience, this engagement was found irksome to the Quakers, it was the next year repealed.

For Maryland, the restoration of the Stuarts was the restoration of its proprietary. Virginia possessed far stronger claims for favor than Rhode Island and Connecticut; and in April, 1661, Sir William Berkeley himself embarked for England as the agent of the colony. But Virginia was unhappy alike in the agent whom she selected and in the object of her pursuit. Berkeley was eager in the advancement of his own interests; and Virginia desired relief from the pressure of the navigation act, which Charles II. had so recently ratified. Relief was impossible; for it was beyond the prerogative of the king, and lay only within the power of parliament. Virginia received no charter, nor any guaranty for her

established constitution, except in the instructions to her governor. The confidence of loyalty was doomed to suffer heavy retribution; and to satisfy the greediness of favorite courtiers, Virginia was dismembered by lavish grants, till at last the whole colony was given away for a generation, as recklessly as a man would give away a life estate in a farm.

Meantime Sir William Berkeley made use of his presence in England for his own account, and set the example of narrowing the limits of the province for which he acted, by embarking with Clarendon and six other principal courtiers and statesmen of that day, in an immense speculation in lands. Berkeley, being about to return to America, was perhaps esteemed a convenient instrument. King Charles was caricatured in Holland, with a woman on each arm, and courtiers picking his pocket. This time they took whole provinces; the territory which they obtained, if divided among the eight, had given to each a tract as extensive as the kingdom of France.

To complete the picture of the territorial changes made by Charles II., it remains to be added, that, having given away the whole south, he, in 1664, enfeoffed his brother with the country between Pemaquid and the St. Croix. In 1677, the proprietary rights to New Hampshire and Maine were revived, with the intent to purchase them for the duke of Monmouth. The fine country from Connecticut River to Delaware Bay, tenanted by nearly ten thousand souls, in spite of the charter to Winthrop, and the possession of the Dutch, was, like part of Maine, given to the duke of York. The charter which secured a province to William Penn, and thus invested philanthropy with executive power on the western bank of the Delaware, was a grant from Charles II. After Philip's war in New England, Mount Hope was hardly rescued from a courtier, then famous as the author of two indifferent comedies. The grant of Nova Scotia to Sir Thomas Temple was not revoked, while, in 1667, Acadia, with indefinite boundaries, was restored to the French. From the outer cape of Nova Scotia to Flor-



ida, with few exceptions, the tenure of every territory was changed. Nay, further, the trade with Africa, the link in the chain of universal commerce that first bound Europe, Asia, and America, together, and united the Caucasian, the Malay, and the Ethiopian races in indissoluble bonds, was given away to a company, which alone had the right of planting on the African coast. The frozen zone itself was invaded, and Prince Rupert and his associates were endowed with a monopoly of the regions on Hudson's Bay.

During the first four years of his power, Charles II. gave away a large part of a continent. Had he possessed the means of continuing as lavish, in the course of his reign he would have given away the world.

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## CHAPTER XXI.

### MASSACHUSETTS AND CHARLES II.

MASSACHUSETTS never enjoyed the favor of the restored government. The virtual independence which had been exercised for the last twenty years, was too dear to be hastily relinquished. The news of the restoration, brought by the ships in which Goffe and Whalley were passengers, was received with skeptical anxiety; and no notice was taken of the event. At the session of the general court in October, 1660, a motion for an address to the king did not succeed; affairs in England were still regarded as unsettled. At last it became certain that the hereditary family of kings had recovered its authority, and that swarms of enemies to the colony had gathered round the new government; a general court was convened in December, and the colonists appealed to the king of England, as "a king who had seen adversity, and who, having himself been an exile, knew the



hearts of exiles." They prayed for "the continuance of civil and religious liberties," and, in return for the protection of them, they promised the blessing of a people whose trust is in God. At the same time, Leverett, the agent of the colony, was instructed to make interest in its behalf with members of parliament and the privy council; to intercede for its chartered liberties; and to resist appeals to England, alike in cases civil or criminal.

A general expression of good will from the king could not quiet apprehension. The committee for the plantations surmised that Massachusetts would, if it dared, cast off its allegiance, and resort to an alliance with Spain, or to any desperate remedy, rather than admit of appeals to England. Upon this subject a controversy immediately arose; and the royal government resolved to establish the principle which the Long Parliament had waived. It was therefore not without reason, that the colony foreboded collision with the crown; and, after a full report from a numerous committee, of which Bradstreet, Hawthorne, Mather, and Norton, were members, the general court, in June, 1661, published a declaration of natural and chartered rights.

Their liberties under God and their patent they declare to be, "to choose their own governor, deputy-governor, and representatives; to admit freemen on terms to be prescribed at their own pleasure; to set up all sorts of officers, superior and inferior, and point out their power and places; to exercise, by their annually-elected magistrates and deputies, all power and authority, legislative, executive, and judicial; to defend themselves by force of arms against every aggression; and to reject, as an infringement of their right, any parliamentary or royal imposition prejudicial to the country and contrary to any just act of colonial legislation." The duties of allegiance were narrowed to a few points, which conferred neither profit nor substantial power on the king.

Thus Massachusetts joined issue with the king, by denying the right of appeal, and with the parliament, by declaring the navigation act an infringement of

chartered rights. It was not till these long and careful preparations had been completed, that, more than a year after his restoration, Charles II. was acknowledged by public proclamation. A few formalities were coldly observed. The day that saw monarchy renewed on this side the Atlantic, was not esteemed a day of rejoicing.

The large majority in the colony still insisted on sustaining, with the charter, an independent administration in undiminished force; others were willing to make such concessions as would satisfy the ministry of Clarendon. The first party held the reins of government, and John Norton, a fine scholar and rigid Puritan, yet a friend to moderate counsels, was joined with the excellent Simon Bradstreet in the commission for England. They were instructed to persuade the king of the confiding loyalty of Massachusetts, and yet to suffer no appeals from the colony to his clemency or his consideration; to propitiate the monarch, and yet to save the independence of the country. Conscious that they were sent on an impossible mission, the envoys, in February, 1662, embarked with great reluctance.

King Charles received the messengers with courtesy; and they returned in the autumn with the royal answer, which probably originated with Clarendon. A confirmation of the charter was granted, with a conditional amnesty of offences. But the king asserted his right to reverse the judgments of the courts of the colony; he demanded a repeal of all laws derogatory to his authority; the administration of the oath of allegiance; the administration of justice in his name; the complete toleration of the Church of England; and a concession of the elective franchise to every inhabitant possessing a competent estate.

The question of obedience was a question of liberty, and gave birth to the parties of prerogative and of freedom.

The representatives of Massachusetts, instead of complying with the wishes of the king, resolved on measures conducive "to the glory of God, and to the felicity of

his people ;" that is, to a continuance of their religious institutions, and their democratic independence.

Meantime the people of Massachusetts were not ignorant how great dangers they incurred by refusing to comply with the demand of their sovereign. False rumors were mingled with true reports, and assisted to incense the court at St. James. Whalley and Goffe, it was currently asserted, were at the head of an army; the union of the four New England colonies was believed to have had its origin in the express "purpose of throwing off dependence on England." The news was soon spread abroad, that commissioners would be appointed to regulate the affairs of New England.

Precautionary measures were promptly adopted. The patent was delivered to a committee of four, by whom it was to be kept safely and secretly for the country. To guard against danger from an armed force, officers and soldiers were forbidden to land from ships, except in small parties; and strict obedience to the laws of Massachusetts was required from them. In conformity to former usage, a day of fasting and prayer was appointed. That age was an age of religious faith; every man was required to attend public worship. Not an individual, but the sick, was ordinarily absent; for, in those days, the mother took with her the nursling whom she could not leave. To appoint a day of fasting on a special occasion, was to call together, in their respective assemblies, every individual of the colony, and to engage the attention of the whole people to a single subject, under the sanction of the invisible presence of God.

At length, in July, 1664, the fleet, equipped for the reduction of the Dutch settlements on the Hudson, arrived at Boston, bearing commissioners hostile to colonial liberties, and charged to investigate the manner in which the charters of New England had been exercised, "with full authority to provide for the peace of the country, according to the royal instructions, and their own discretion."

At once the people descried the approach of tyranny. They feared discretion. They would never trust it to their own magistrates; and should they now submit to the discretion of strangers and enemies? The general court assembled to meet the danger, and resist the commission as a flagrant violation of chartered rights. In regard to the obedience due to a government, the inhabitants of Massachusetts distinguished between natural obedience and voluntary subjection. The child born on the soil of England, is necessarily an English subject; but they held to the original right of expatriation — that every man may withdraw from the land of his birth, and renounce all duty of allegiance with all claim to protection. This they themselves had done. They had emigrated to a new world, where they might have organized their government, on the basis of natural rights, and of perfect independence. The connection which they retained with England, they held to be purely voluntary; originally and solely established, and therefore exclusively defined, by the charter.

As the establishment of a commission with discretionary powers was not specially sanctioned by that charter, they resolved to resist the orders of the king, and nullify his commission. While, therefore, the fleet was engaged in reducing New York, Massachusetts published an order prohibiting complaints to the commissioners; and, in October, remonstrating, not against deeds of tyranny, but the menace of tyranny, — not against actual wrong, but against a principle of wrong, — they, in a formal address, announced to King Charles II., that “the privilege of GOVERNMENT WITHIN THEMSELVES was their undoubted right in the sight of God and man. To be governed by rulers of their own choosing and laws of their own, was the fundamental privilege of their patent.” They threaten “to seek new dwellings;” they positively refuse acquiescence in the rapacious designs of the English courtiers. “Our liberties,” they add, “are far dearer to us than our lives; to obtain them we have

willingly ventured our lives, and passed through many deaths.

“A poor people, destitute of outward favor, wealth, and power, now cry unto their lord the king. May your majestie regard their cause, and maintain their right; it will stand among the marks of lasting honor to after generations.”

The spirit of the people corresponded with the address. Did any appear to pay court to the commissioners, they became objects of derision. Even the writing to the king and chancellor was not held to be a duty; the compact by the charter required only the payment to the king of one fifth of all gold and silver ore; this was an obligation; any notice of the king beyond this was but by way of civility. It was also hoped to weary the English government by a tedious correspondence, which might be continued till a new revolution. There were many in New England who confidently expected a revival of liberty after the restoration, and what was called “the slaying of the witnesses.” “Who knows,” it was also asked, “what the event of this Dutch war will be?” Public meetings of the people were held; the brave and liberal Hawthorne, at the head of a company of train-bands, made a speech which royalists deemed “seditious;” and the inflexible Endicot, just as the last sands of life were running out, addressed the people at their meeting-house in Boston. The aged Davenport was equally unbending. “The commission,” said he from New Haven, “is but a tryal of our courage; the Lord will be with his people while they are with him. If you consent to this court of appeals, you pluck down with your own hands the house which wisdom has built for you and your posterity.”

To Connecticut, the controversy of Massachusetts with the commissioners was fraught with beneficial results. It facilitated the entire union of the two colonies of Hartford and New Haven; and, as the commissioners were desirous to make friends in the other colonies,



they avoided all angry collisions, gave no countenance to a claim advanced by the duke of Hamilton to a large tract of territory in the colony; and, in arranging the limits of New York, though the charter of Clarendon's son-in-law extended to the River Connecticut, they established the boundary, on the main, in conformity with the claims of Connecticut itself. Long Island went to the duke of York. Satisfied with the harmony which they had secured by attempting nothing but for the interests of the colony, the commissioners saw fit to praise to the monarch "the dutifulness and obedience of Connecticut," which was "set off with the more lustre by the contrary deportment of Massachusetts."

The policy of Rhode Island, of relying on England for protection, secured to the royal agents in that province a more favorable reception. Plymouth, the weakest colony of all, though the commissioners, flattering the long-cherished hopes of the inhabitants, had promised them a charter if they would but set an example of compliance, stood firm for its independence. The general assembly, after due consideration, "with many thanks to the commissioners, and great protestations of loyalty to the king," "chose to be as they were."

If Plymouth could not be blinded by the dazzling prospect of a charter, there was no room to expect success in Massachusetts. The conference held between the two parties, in May, 1665, soon degenerated into an altercation.

Tired of discussion, the commissioners resolved to act, and declared their intention of holding a court to decide a cause in which the colony was cited to appear as defendant. The general court forbade the procedure. The commissioners refused to recede; the morning for the trial dawned; the parties had been summoned; the commissioners were preparing to proceed with the cause, when, by order of the court, a herald stepped forth, and, having sounded the trumpet with due solemnity, made a public proclamation, in the name of the king, and by authority of the charter, declaring to all the people of



the colony, that, in observance of their duty to God, to the king, and to their constituents, the general court could not suffer any to abet his majesty's honorable commissioners in their proceedings.

Some extraordinary form of publicity was thought necessary, to give validity to the remonstrance. The herald sounded the trumpet in three several places, and repeated publicly his proclamation. We may smile at this solitary imitation of a feudal ceremony. Yet when had the voice of a herald proclaimed the approach of so momentous a contest? It was not merely a struggle of the general court and the commissioners; nor yet of Charles II. and Massachusetts; it was a still more momentous combat—the dawning strife of the new system against the old system, of American politics against European politics.

The defeated commissioners, proceeding to the north, endeavored to inquire into the bounds of New Hampshire and Maine, and to prepare for the restoration of proprietary claims. Massachusetts was again equally active and fearless; its governor and council forbade the towns on the Piscataqua to meet, or in any thing to obey the commission, at their utmost peril.

In Maine, the temper of the people was more favorable to royalty; they preferred the immediate protection of the king to an incorporation with Massachusetts, or a subjection to the heir of Gorges; and the commissioners, setting aside the officers appointed by Massachusetts, and neglecting the pretensions of Gorges, issued commissions to persons of their selection to govern the district. Secure in the support of a resolute minority, the Puritan commonwealth, after the departure of the commissioners, again established its authority over the province. From the southern limit of Massachusetts to the Kennebec, the colonial government maintained its independent jurisdiction. The agents of the king left not a trace of their presence.

The frowardness of Massachusetts was visited by reproofs from the English monarch; to whom it was well

known that "the people of that colony affirmed, his majesty had no jurisdiction over them." And Bellingham and Hawthorne were, by a royal mandate, in 1666, expressly commanded, on their allegiance, to attend in England, with two or three others, whom the magistrates of Massachusetts were to appoint as their colleagues.

The general court was convened in September, to consider the letter from the king. The morning of the second day was spent in prayer; six elders prayed. The next day, after a lecture, some debate was had; and petitions, proposing compliance with the king, were afterwards forwarded from Boston, Salem, Ipswich, and Newbury. "Let some regular way be propounded for the debate," said Bellingham, the governor, a man who emphatically hated a bribe. "The king's prerogative gives him power to command our appearance," said the moderate Bradstreet; "before God and men we are to obey." "You may have a trial at law," insinuated an artful royalist; "when you come to England, you may insist upon it and claim it." "We must as well consider God's displeasure as the king's," retorted Willoughby; "the interest of ourselves and of God's things, as his majesty's prerogative; for our liberties are of concernment, and to be regarded as to the preservation; for if the king may send for me now, and another to-morrow, we are a miserable people." "Prerogative is as necessary as law," rejoined the royalist. "Prerogative is not above law," said the inflexible Hawthorne, ever the advocate of popular liberty. After much argument, obedience was refused. "We have already" — such was the reply of the general court — "furnished our views in writing, so that the ablest persons among us could not declare our case more fully."

This decision of disobedience was made at a time when the ambition of Louis XIV. of France, eager to grasp at the Spanish Netherlands, and united with De Witt by a treaty of partition, had, in consequence of his Dutch alliance, declared war against England. It was

on this occasion, that the idea of the conquest of Canada was first distinctly proposed to New England. It was proposed only to be rejected as impossible. "A land march of four hundred miles, over rocky mountains and howling deserts," was too terrible an obstacle. But Boston equipped several privateers, and not without success. At the same time, colonial loyalty did not content itself with barren professions; it sent provisions to the English fleet in the West Indies, and to the navy in England a ship-load of masts.

The defiance of Massachusetts was not followed by immediate danger. The ministry of Clarendon was fallen; he himself was become an exile; and profligate libertines had gained places in the royal cabinet. While England remained without a good government, the colonies flourished in purity and peace. The affairs of New England were often discussed; but the privy council was overawed by the moral dignity which they could not comprehend. In 1671, there were great debates, in which the king took part, "in what style to write to New England." Charles himself commended this affair more expressly, because "the colony was rich and strong, able to contest with all other plantations about them." "There is fear," said the monarch, "of their breaking from all dependence on this nation." "Some of the council proposed a menacing letter, which those who better understood the peevish and touchy humor of that colonie were utterly against." After many days, it was concluded, "that, if any, it should be only a conciliating paper at first, or civil letter; for it was understood they were a people almost upon the very brink of renouncing any dependence upon the crown." "Information of the present face of things was desired," and Cartwright, one of the commissioners, was summoned before the council, to give "a relation of that country;" but such was the picture that he drew, the council were more intimidated than ever, so that nothing was recommended beyond "a letter of amnesty." By degrees, it was proposed to send a deputy to New England, under

the pretext of adjusting boundaries, but "with secret instructions to inform the council of the condition of New England, and whether they were of such power as to be able to resist his majesty, and declare for themselves, as independent of the crown." Their strength was reported to be the cause "which of late years made them refractory." What need of many words? The king was taken up by "the childish, simple, and baby face" of a new favorite, and his traffic of the honor and independence of England to the king of France. The duke of Buckingham, now in mighty favor, was revelling with a luxurious and abandoned rout; and the discussions at the council about New England, were, for the present, as fruitless as the inquiries how nutmegs and cinnamon might be naturalized in Jamaica.

Massachusetts prospered by the neglect. "The schismatics to the church," and "rebels to the king," enjoyed the blessings of self-government and virtual independence. The villages of New England were already the traveller's admiration; the acts of navigation were not regarded; no custom-house was established. Massachusetts, which now stretched to the Kennebec, possessed a widely-extended trade, acting as the carrier for nearly all the colonies, and sending its ships into the most various climes. Vessels from Spain and Italy, from France and Holland, might be seen in Boston harbor; commerce began to pour out wealth on the colonists. Villages extended; prosperity was universal. Beggary was unknown; theft was rare.

If "strange new fashions" prevailed among "the younger sort of women," if "superfluous ribbons" were worn on their apparel, at least "musicians by trade, and dancing schools," were not fostered. It was still remembered that the people were led into the wilderness by Aaron, not less than by Moses; and, in spite of the increasing spirit of inquiry and toleration, it was resolved to retain the Congregational churches "in their purest and most athletick constitution."

Amidst the calmness of such prosperity, many of the

patriarchs of the colony,—the hospitable, sincere, but persecuting Wilson; the uncompromising Davenport, ever zealous for Calvinism, and zealous for independence, who founded New Haven on a rock, and, having at first preached beneath the shade of a forest-tree, now lived to behold the country full of convenient churches; the tolerant Willoughby, who had pleaded for the Baptists; the incorruptible Bellingham, precise in his manners, and rigid in his principles of independence;—these, and others, the fathers of the people, lay down in peace, closing a career of virtue in the placid calmness of hope, and lamenting nothing so much as that their career was finished too soon for them to witness the fulness of New England's glory.

It is difficult to form exact opinions on the population of the several colonies in this earlier period of their history; the colonial accounts are incomplete; and those which were furnished by emissaries from England are extravagantly false. Perhaps no great error will be committed, if we suppose the white population of New England, in 1675, to have been fifty-five thousand souls. Of these, Plymouth may have contained not many less than seven thousand; Connecticut, nearly fourteen thousand; Massachusetts proper, more than twenty-two thousand; and Maine, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island, each perhaps four thousand. The settlements were chiefly agricultural communities, planted near the sea-side, from New Haven to Pemaquid. The beaver trade, even more than traffic in lumber and fish, had produced the villages beyond the Piscataqua; yet in Maine, as in New Hampshire, there was "a great trade in deal boards." Cultivation had not extended far into the interior. Haverhill, on the Merrimac, was a frontier town; from Connecticut, emigrants had ascended as far as the rich meadows of Deerfield and Northfield; but to the west, Berkshire was a wilderness; Westfield was the remotest plantation. Between the towns on Connecticut River, and the cluster of towns near Massachusetts Bay, Lancaster and Brookfield were the soli-



tary abodes of Christians in the desert. The government of Massachusetts extended to the Kennebec, and included more than half the population of New England; the confederacy of the colonies had also been renewed, in anticipation of dangers.

The number of the Indians of that day hardly amounted to thirty thousand in all New England west of the St. Croix. Of these, perhaps about five thousand dwelt in the territory of Maine; New Hampshire may have hardly contained three thousand; and Massachusetts, with Plymouth, never from the first peopled by many Indians, seems to have had less than eight thousand. In Connecticut and Rhode Island, never depopulated by wasting sickness, the Mohegans, the Narragansets, the Pokanokets, and kindred tribes, had multiplied their villages round the sea-shore, the inlets, and the larger ponds, which increased their scanty supplies by furnishing abundance of fish. Yet, of these, the exaggerated estimates melt away, when subjected to criticism. To Connecticut, rumor, in the days of the elder Winthrop, gave three or four thousand warrior Indians; and there may have been half of the larger number; the Narragansets, like so many other tribes, boasted of their former grandeur; but they could not bring into action a thousand bowmen. Thus, therefore, west of the Piscataqua, there were probably about fifty thousand whites, and hardly twenty-five thousand Indians; while east of the same stream, there were about four thousand whites, and perhaps more than that number of red men.

A sincere attempt had been made to redeem these "wrecks of humanity," by planting in their hearts the seeds of conscious virtue, and gathering them into permanent villages. Foremost among the early missionaries—the morning star of missionary enterprise—was John Eliot, whose benevolence almost amounted to the inspiration of genius. An Indian grammar was a pledge of his earnestness; the pledge was redeemed by his preparing and publishing a translation of the whole Bible into







the Massachusetts dialect. His actions, his thoughts, his desires, all wore the hues of disinterested love. His uncontrollable charity welled out in a perpetual fountain.

Nor was Eliot alone. In the islands round Massachusetts, and within the limits of the Plymouth patent, missionary zeal and charity were active; and "that young New England scholar," the gentle Mayhew, forgetting the pride of learning, endeavored to win the natives to a new religion. At a later day, he took passage for England, to awaken interest there; and the ship in which he sailed was never more heard of. But such had been the force of his example, that his father, though bowed down by the weight of seventy years, resolved on assuming the office of the son whom he has lost, and, till beyond the age of fourscore years and twelve, continued to instruct the natives of the isles; and with the happiest results. The Indians within his influence, though twenty times more numerous than the whites in their immediate neighborhood, preserved an immutable friendship with Massachusetts.

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## CHAPTER XXII.

### THE INDIAN WAR IN NEW ENGLAND.

THUS churches were gathered among the heathen; villages of "praying Indians" established; at Cambridge, in 1665, an Indian actually became a bachelor of arts. Yet Christianity hardly spread beyond the Indians on Cape Cod, Martha's Vineyard, and Nantucket, and the seven feeble villages round Boston. The Narragansets, a powerful tribe, counting at least a thousand warriors, hemmed in between Connecticut and Plymouth, restless and jealous, retained their old belief; and

Philip of Pokanoket, at the head of seven hundred warriors, professed with pride the faith of his fathers.

The aged Massasoit — he who had welcomed the Pilgrims to the soil of New England, and had opened his cabin to shelter the founder of Rhode Island — now slept with his fathers; and his son, Philip of Pokanoket, had succeeded him as chief over allied tribes. Repeated sales of land had narrowed their domains; and the English had artfully crowded them into the tongues of land, as “most suitable and convenient for them.” There they could be more easily watched; for the frontiers of the narrow peninsulas were inconsiderable. Thus the two chief seats of the Pokanokets were the necks of land which we now call Bristol and Tiverton; and as the villages of the English drew nearer and nearer to them, their hunting-grounds were put under culture; their natural parks were turned into pastures; their best fields for planting corn were gradually alienated; till they found themselves deprived of their broad acres, and, by their own legal contracts, driven, as it were, into the sea.

Collisions and mutual distrust were the necessary consequence. When the young warriors came together, how could they fail to regret the wide domains of their ancestors? They spurned the English claim of jurisdiction, and were indignant that Indian chiefs or warriors should be arraigned before a jury. And what, in their eyes, were paper deeds, the seals and signatures of which they could not comprehend the binding force? When the expressions of common passion were repeated by an Indian tale-bearer, fear magnified the plans of the tribes into an organized scheme of resistance.

The haughty chieftain, who had once before been compelled to surrender his “English arms,” and pay an onerous tribute, was, in 1674, summoned to submit to an examination, and could not escape suspicion. The wrath of his tribe was roused, and the informer was murdered. The murderers, in their turn, were iden-

tified; seized, in June, 1675; tried by a jury, of which one half were Indians, and, on conviction, were hanged. The young men of the tribe panted for revenge: on the twenty-fourth of the same month, eight or nine of the English were slain in or about Swansey; and the alarm of war spread through the colonies.

Thus was Philip hurried into "his rebellion;" and he is reported to have wept as he heard that a white man's blood had been shed. He had kept his men about him in arms, and had welcomed every stranger; and now, against his judgment and his will, he was involved in war. For what prospect had he of success? Destiny had marked him and his tribe. The English were united; the Indians had no alliance; — the English made a common cause; half the Indians were allies of the English, or were quiet spectators of the fight; — the English had guns enough; but few of the Indians were well armed, and they could get no new supplies; — the English had towns for their shelter and safe retreat; the miserable wigwams of the natives were defenceless; — the English had sure supplies of food; the Indians might easily lose their precarious stores. The individual, growing giddy by danger, rushes, as it were, towards his fate; so did the Indians of New England. Frenzy prompted their rising. It was but the storm in which the ancient inhabitants of the land were to vanish away. They rose without hope, and, therefore, they fought without mercy. For them, as a nation, there was no to-morrow.

The minds of the English were appalled by the horrors of the impending conflict, and superstition indulged in its wild inventions. At the time of the eclipse of the moon, you might have seen the figure of an Indian scalp imprinted on the centre of its disk. The perfect form of an Indian bow appeared in the sky. The sighing of the wind was like the whistling of bullets. Some distinctly heard invisible troops of horses gallop through the air, while others found the prophecy of calamities in the howling of the wolves.

At the very beginning of danger, the colonists exerted their wonted energy. Volunteers from Massachusetts joined the troops from Plymouth; within a week from the commencement of hostilities, the insulated Pokanokets were driven from Mount Hope, and in less than a month, Philip was a fugitive among the Nipmucks, the interior tribe of Massachusetts. The little army of the colonists then entered the territory of the Narragansets, and from the reluctant tribe extorted a treaty of neutrality, with a promise to deliver up every hostile Indian. Victory seemed promptly assured. But it was only the commencement of horrors. Canonchet, the chief sachem of the Narragansets, was the son of Miantonomoh, and could not forget his father's wrongs. And would the tribes of New England permit the nation that had first given a welcome to the English to perish unavenged? Desolation extended along the whole frontier. Banished from his patrimony, where the pilgrims found a friend, and from his cabin, which had sheltered the exiles, Philip, with his warriors, spread through the country, awakening their brethren to a warfare of extermination.

The war, on the part of the Indians, was one of ambushes and surprises. They never once met the English in open field, but always, even if eightfold in numbers, fled timorously before infantry. But they were secret as beasts of prey, skilful marksmen, and in part provided with fire-arms; fleet of foot, conversant with all the paths of the forest, patient of fatigue, and mad with a passion for rapine, vengeance, and destruction; retreating into swamps for their fastnesses, or hiding in the greenwood thickets, where the leaves muffled the eyes of the pursuer. By the rapidity of their descent, they seemed omnipresent among the scattered villages, which they ravaged like a passing storm; and for a full year they kept all New England in a state of terror and excitement. The exploring party was waylaid and cut off, and mangled carcasses and disjointed limbs were hung upon the trees to terrify



pursuers. The laborer in the field, the reapers as they went forth to the harvest, men as they went to mill, the shepherd's boy among the sheep, were shot down by skulking foes, whose approach was invisible. Who can tell the heavy hours of woman? The mother, if left alone in the house, feared the tomahawk for herself and children: on the sudden attack, the husband would fly with one child, the wife with another, and, perhaps, one only escape: the village cavalcade, making its way to meeting on Sunday, in files on horseback, the farmer holding the bridle in one hand, and a child in the other, his wife seated on a pillion behind him, it may be with a child in her lap, as was the fashion in those days, could not proceed safely; but, at the moment when least expected, bullets would come whizzing amongst them, discharged from an ambuscade by the wayside. The forest, that protected the ambush of the Indians, secured their retreat. They hung upon the skirts of the English villages, "like the lightning on the edge of the clouds."

What need of repeating the same tale of horrors? Brookfield was set on fire, and rescued only to be abandoned; Deerfield was burned; Hadley, surprised during a time of religious service, was saved only by the daring of Goffe, the regicide, now bowed with years, a heavenly messenger of rescue, who darted from his hiding-place, rallied the disheartened, and, having achieved a safe defence, sunk away into his retirement, to be no more seen. The plains of Northfield were wet with the blood of Beers and twenty of his valiant associates. As, on the eighteenth of September, Lathrop's company of young men, the very flower of the young men of Essex, all "culled" out of the towns of that county, were conveying the harvests of Deerfield to the lower towns, they were suddenly surrounded by a horde of Indians; and, as each party fought from behind trees, victory declared for the far more numerous savages. Hardly a white man escaped; the little stream that winds through the tranquil scene, by its name of

blood, commemorates the massacre of that day. Springfield was burned, and Hadley once more assaulted. The remoter villages were deserted; the pleasant residences that had been won by hard toil in the desert, the stations of civilization in the wilderness, were laid waste.

But the English were not the only sufferers. In winter, it was the custom of the natives to dwell together in their wigwams; in spring, they would be dispersed through the woods. In winter, the warriors who had spread misery through the west, were sheltered among the Narragansets; in spring, they would renew their devastations. In winter, the absence of foliage made the forests less dangerous; in spring, every bush would be a hiding-place. It was resolved to regard the Narragansets as enemies; and a little before the winter solstice, a thousand men, levied by the United Colonies, and commanded by the brave Josiah Winslow, a native of New England, invaded their territory. After a night spent in the open air, they waded through the snow from daybreak till an hour after noon, and at last reached the cluster of wigwams which a fort protected. Davenport, Gardner, Johnson, Gallop, Siely, Marshall, led their companies through the narrow entrance, in the face of death, and left their lives as a testimony of their patriotism. But victory was with the white men; nothing could check their determined valor; and the group of Indian cabins was set on fire. Thus were swept away the humble glories of the Narragansets: the winter's stores of the tribe, their curiously-wrought baskets, full of corn, their famous strings of wampum, their wigwams nicely lined with mats, — all the little comforts of savage life were consumed. And more — their old men, their women, their babes, perished by hundreds in the fire.

Then, indeed, was the cup of misery full for these red men. Without shelter and without food, they hid themselves in a cedar swamp, with no defence against the cold but boughs of evergreen trees. They prowled the forests, and pawed up the snow, to gather nuts and

acorns; they dug the earth for ground-nuts; they ate remnants of horse-flesh as a luxury: they sunk down from feebleness and want of food. Winter and famine, and disease consequent on vile diet, were the allies of the English; while the English troops, after much severe suffering, found their way to firesides.

The spirit of Canonchet did not droop under the disasters of his tribe. "We will fight to the last man," said the gallant chieftain, "rather than become servants to the English." Taken prisoner, in April, 1676, near the Blackstone, a young man began to question him. "Child," replied he, "you do not understand war; I will answer your chief." His life was offered him, if he would procure a treaty of peace; he refused the offer with disdain. "I know," added he, "the Indians will not yield." Condemned to death, he only answered, "I like it well; I shall die before I speak any thing unworthy of myself."

Meantime the Indian warriors were not idle. "We will fight," said they, "these twenty years; you have houses, barns, and corn; we have now nothing to lose." And one town in Massachusetts after another — Lancaster, Medfield, Weymouth, Groton, Marlborough — were laid in ashes.

Nowhere was there more distress than at Lancaster. Forty-two persons sought shelter under the roof of Mary Rowlandson; and, after a hot assault, the Indians succeeded in setting the house on fire. Will the mothers of the United States, happy in the midst of unexampled prosperity, know the sorrows of woman in a former generation? "Quickly," writes Mary Rowlandson, "it was the dolefullest day that ever mine eyes saw. Now the dreadful hour is come. Some in our house were fighting for their lives; others wallowing in blood; the house on fire over our heads, and the bloody heathen ready to knock us on the head, if we stirred out. I took my children to go forth; but the Indians shot so thick, that the bullets rattled against the house, as if one had thrown a handful of stones. We had six stout

dogs, but none of them would stir. \* \* \* The bullets flying thick, one went through my side, and through my poor child in my arms." The brutalities of an Indian massacre followed. "There remained nothing to me," she continues, now in captivity, "but one poor wounded babe. Down I must sit in the snow, with my sick child, the picture of death, in my lap. Not the least crumb of refreshing came within either of our mouths from Wednesday night to Saturday night, except only a little cold water. \* \* \* One Indian, and then a second, and then a third, would come and tell me, 'Your master will quickly knock your child on the head.' This was the comfort I had from them; miserable comforters were they all."

Nor were such scenes of ruin confined to Massachusetts. At the south the whole Narraganset country was deserted by the English. Warwick was burned; Providence was attacked and set on fire. There was no security but to seek out the hiding-places of the natives, and destroy them by surprise. On the banks of the Connecticut, just above the Falls that take their name from the gallant Turner, was an encampment of large bodies of hostile Indians; on the nineteenth of May, a band of one hundred and fifty volunteers, from among the yeomanry of Springfield, Hadley, Hatfield, and Northampton, led by Turner and Holyoke, making a silent march in the dead of night, came at daybreak upon the wigwams. The Indians are taken by surprise; some are shot down in their cabins; others rush to the river, and are drowned; others push from shore in their birchen canoes, and are hurried down the cataract.

As the season advanced, the Indians abandoned every hope. Their forces were wasted; they had no fields that they could plant. Such continued warfare without a respite was against their usages. They began, as the unsuccessful and unhappy so often do, to quarrel among themselves; recriminations ensued; those of Connecticut charged their sufferings upon Philip; and those who had been his allies, became suppliants for peace. Some surrendered to escape starvation. In the progress of the

year, between two and three thousand Indians were killed or submitted. Church, the most famous partisan commander, went out to hunt down parties of fugitives. Some of the tribes wandered away to the north, and were blended with the tribes of Canada. Philip himself, a man of no ordinary elevation of character, was chased from one hiding-place to another. He had vainly sought to engage the Mohawks in the contest; now that hope was at an end, he still refused to hear of peace, and struck dead the warrior who proposed it. At length, after the absence of a year, he resolved to return to the beautiful land where were the graves of his forefathers, the cradle of his infancy, and the nestling-place of his tribe. On the third day of August, he escaped narrowly, leaving his wife and only son as prisoners. "My heart breaks," cried the tattooed chieftain, in the agony of his grief; "now I am ready to die." His own followers began to plot against him, to make better terms for themselves, and in a few days he was shot by a faithless Indian. The captive orphan was transported. So perished the princes of the Pokanokets. Sad to them had been their acquaintance with civilization. The first ship that came on their coast kidnapped men of their kindred; and now the harmless boy, that had been cherished as an only child, and the future sachem of their tribes, the last of the family of Massasoit, was sold into bondage, to toil as a slave under the suns of Bermuda. Of the once prosperous Narragansets, of old the chief tribe of New England, hardly one hundred men remained. The sword, fire, famine, and sickness, had swept them from the earth.

During the whole war, the Mohegans remained faithful to the English; and no blood was shed on the happy soil of Connecticut. So much the greater was the loss in the adjacent colonies. Twelve or thirteen towns were destroyed; the disbursements and losses equalled in value half a million of dollars — an enormous sum for the few of that day. More than six hundred men, chiefly young men, the flower of the country, of whom any mother



might have been proud, perished in the field. As many as six hundred houses were burned. Of the able-bodied men in the colony, one in twenty had fallen; and one family in twenty had been burnt out. The loss of lives and property was, in proportion to numbers, as distressing as in the revolutionary war. There was scarcely a family from which death had not selected a victim.

Let us not forget a good deed of the generous Irish; they sent over a contribution, small, it is true, to relieve in part the distresses of Plymouth colony. Connecticut, which had contributed soldiers to the war, now furnished the houseless with more than a thousand bushels of corn. "God will remember and reward that pleasant fruit." Boston imitated the example; for "the grace of Christ," it was said, "always made Boston exemplary" in works of that nature.

The eastern hostilities with the Indians had a different origin, and were of longer continuance. The news of the rising of the Pokanokets was, indeed, the signal for the commencement of devastations; and, within a few weeks, the war extended over a space of nearly three hundred miles. But in Maine it was a border warfare, growing out of a consciousness of wrongs, and a thirst for revenge. Sailors had committed outrages, and the Indians avenged the crimes of a corrupt ship's crew on the villages. There was no general rising of the Abenakis, or eastern tribes, no gatherings of large bodies of men. Of the English settlements, nearly one half were destroyed in detail; the inhabitants were either driven away, killed, or carried into captivity; for covetousness sometimes provoked to mercy, by exciting the hope of a ransom.

The escape of ANNE BRACKETT, granddaughter of George Cleeves, the first settler of Portland, was the marvel of that day. Her family had, in August, 1676, been taken captives at the sack of Falmouth. When her captors hastened forward to further ravages on the Kennebec, she was able to loiter behind; the eye of the mother discerned the wreck of a birchen bark, which, with needle and thread from a deserted house, she patched



and repaired; then, with her husband, a negro servant, and her infant child, she trusted herself to the sea in the tattered canoe, which had neither sail nor mast, and was like a feather on the waves. She crossed Casco Bay, and, arriving at Black Point, where she feared to find Indians, and at best could only have hoped to find a solitude, how great was her joy, as she discovered a vessel from Piscataqua, that had just sought an anchoring-place in the harbor!

The surrender of Acadia to the French had made the struggle more arduous; for the eastern Indians obtained supplies of arms from the French on the Penobscot. In 1677, the Mohawks were invited to engage in the war; a few of them took up the hatchet, but distance rendered coöperation impossible. After several fruitless attempts at treaties, in April, 1678, peace was established by Andros as governor of Pemaquid, but on terms which acknowledged the superiority of the Indians.

The defence of New England had been made by its own resources. Jealous of independence, it never applied to the parent country for assistance; and the earl of Anglesey reproached the people with their public spirit. "You are poor," said he, "and yet proud." The English ministry, contributing nothing to repair colonial losses, made no secret of its intention to "reassume the government of Massachusetts into its own hands;" and, in 1676, while the Indian war-cry was yet ringing in the forests of Maine, Edward Randolph, at once the agent for Mason, and the emissary from the privy council, a hungry adventurer, whose zeal led him, in the course of nine years, to make eight voyages to America, arrived in New England, with a royal message, requiring submission. The colony, reluctantly yielding to the direct commands of Charles II., resolved to send William Stoughton and Peter Bulkley as envoys to England; grieving at the hardship of being required, at one and the same time, to maintain before courts of law a title to the provinces, and to dispute with a savage foe the possession of dismal deserts.

Remonstrance was of no avail. In 1677, a committee of the privy council, which examined all the charters, denied to Massachusetts the right of jurisdiction over Maine and New Hampshire. The decision was so manifestly in conformity with English law, that the colonial agents attempted no serious defence.

The provinces being thus severed from the government of Massachusetts, King Charles was willing to secure them as an appanage for his reputed son, the kind-hearted, but worthless duke of Monmouth, the Absalom of that day, whom frivolous ambition at last conducted to the scaffold. But in May, 1677, before the monarch, whom extravagance had impoverished, could resolve on a negotiation, Massachusetts, through the agency of a Boston merchant, obtained possession of the claims of Gorges, by a purchase and regular assignment. The price paid was £1250—about six thousand dollars. But Massachusetts did not, at this time, come into possession of the whole territory which now constitutes the state of Maine. France, under the treaty of Breda, claimed and occupied the district from St. Croix to the Penobscot; the duke of York held the tract between the Penobscot and the Kennebec, claiming, indeed, to own the whole tract between the Kennebec and the St. Croix; while Massachusetts was proprietary only of the district between the Kennebec and the Piscataqua.

A novel form of political institution ensued. Massachusetts, in her corporate capacity, was become the lord proprietary of Maine; the little republic on the banks of the Charles was the feudal sovereign of this eastern lordship. Maine had thus far been represented in the Massachusetts house of representatives; henceforward she was to be governed as a province, according to the charter to Gorges.

The change of government in New Hampshire was less quietly effected. The patent of Mason was duly investigated in England; it was found that he had no right to jurisdiction; the unappropriated lands were allowed to belong to him; but the rights of the settlers

to the soil which they actually occupied, were reserved for litigation in colonial courts.

In July, 1679, New Hampshire was separated from Massachusetts, and organized as a royal province. It was the first royal government ever established in New England. The king, reserving a negative voice to himself and his officers, engaged to continue the privilege of an assembly, unless he or his heirs should deem that privilege "an inconvenience."

In March, 1680, a general assembly was convened at Portsmouth, and the colony asserted its rights in the first decree of their new code — "No act, imposition, law, or ordinance, shall be valid, unless made by the assembly and approved by the people." Thus did New Hampshire seize the earliest moment of its separate existence, to express the great principle of self-government, and take her place by the side of Massachusetts and Virginia. Nor was Mason successful in establishing his claims to the soil. The colonial government protected the colonists, and restrained his exactions.

Hastening to England, Mason was authorized to select the person to be appointed governor. He found a fit agent in Edward Cranfield, a man who had no object in banishing himself to the wilds of America, but to wrest a fortune from the sawyers and lumber-dealers of New Hampshire.

But the first assembly which Cranfield convened, in November, 1682, dispelled all his golden visions of an easy acquisition of fortune. The "rugged" legislators would not yield their liberties; and, in January, 1683, the governor in anger dissolved the assembly.

The dissolution of an assembly — a novel procedure in New England — was followed by popular discontent, and a cry for "liberty and reformation." The lawsuits about land were multiplied. Packed juries and partial judges settled questions rapidly; but Mason derived no benefit from a decision in his favor; for he could neither get possession of the estates, nor find a purchaser.

Cranfield still sighed for money; and now, stooping to

falsehood, and hastily calling an assembly, on a vague rumor of an invasion, in January, 1634, he demanded a sudden supply of the means of defence. The representatives of New Hampshire would not be hastened; they took time to consider; and, after debate, they negatived the bill which the governor had prepared.

Cranfield next resolved to intimidate the clergy, and forbade the usual exercise of church discipline. In Portsmouth, Moody, the minister, replied to his threats by a sermon, and the church was inflexible.

The governor could only give information in England, that, "while the clergy were allowed to preach, no true allegiance could be found." "There could be no quiet, till the factious preachers were turned out of the province."

In February, 1634, one more attempt was made to raise an income, by means of taxes, imposed by the vote of the subservient council. But illegal taxes could not be gathered; associations were formed for mutual support in resisting their collection. If rioters were committed, they were rescued by a new riot; if the troop of horse of the militia were ordered out, not a man obeyed the summons.

"These unreasonable people," wrote Cranfield, "cavil at the royal commission, and not at my person. No one will be accepted by them who puts the king's commands in execution." New Hampshire was ever esteemed in England "factious in its economy, affording no exemplary precedents" to the friends of arbitrary power.

Massachusetts might, perhaps, still have defied the king, and escaped or overawed the privy council; but the merchants and manufacturers of England, fearing the colony as their rival, persisted in demanding that their monopoly should be sustained; and it was resolved to reduce Massachusetts to "a more palpable dependence."

The colony was unwilling to forfeit its charter and its religious liberties on a pecuniary question; and, yet,

to acknowledge its readiness to submit to an act of parliament, was regarded as a cession of the privilege of independent legislation. It devised, therefore, an expedient. In 1679, before the return of its agents from England, it declared that "the acts of navigation were an invasion of the rights and privileges of the subjects of his majesty in the colony, they not being represented in parliament." "The laws of England," they add, "do not reach America." In connection with this declaration, the general court gave validity to the laws of navigation by an act of its own.

Twice did Charles II. remonstrate against the disobedience of his subjects; twice did Randolph cross the Atlantic, and return to England, to assist in directing the government against Massachusetts. The commonwealth was inflexible. At length, in February, 1682, the aspect of affairs in England rendered delay more dangerous; and Dudley and Richards were selected as agents.

On reaching England, they found the condition of the colony desperate. A war against corporations was begun; many cities in England had surrendered. Was it not safest for the colony to decline a contest, and throw itself upon the favor or forbearance of the king? Such was the theme of universal discussion throughout the colony; the people spoke of it at their firesides; the topic went with them to church; it entered into their prayers; it filled the sermons of the ministers; and, finally, Massachusetts resolved, in a manner that showed it to be distinctly the sentiment of the people, to resign the territory of Maine, which was held by purchase, but not to concede one liberty or one privilege which was held by charter. If liberty was to receive its death-blow, better that it should die by the violence and injustice of others, than by their own weakness.

The message closed the duties of the agents. In 1683, a *quo warranto* was issued; Massachusetts was arraigned before an English tribunal, under judges



holding their office at the pleasure of the crown; and, in October, Randolph, the hated messenger, arrived with the writ.

The governor and assistants, the patrician branch of the government, were persuaded of the hopelessness of further resistance; even a tardy surrender of the charter might conciliate the monarch. They, therefore, resolved to remind the king of his promises, and "not to contend with his majesty in a court of law;" they would "send agents empowered to receive his majesty's commands."

The magistrates referred this vote to "their brethren the deputies" for concurrence. During a full fortnight the subject was debated, that a decision might be made in harmony with the people.

"Better suffer," thought they, "than sin. It is better to trust the God of our fathers, than to put confidence in princes. If we suffer because we dare not comply with the wills of men against the will of God, we suffer in a good cause, and shall be accounted martyrs in the next generation and at the great day."

The decision of the colony, by its representatives, is on record:—"The deputies consent not, but adhere to their former bills."

Addresses were forwarded to the king, urging forbearance; but entreaty and remonstrance were vain. A *scire facias* was issued in England; and before the colony could act upon it, on the eighteenth of June, 1684, just one year and six days after the judgment against the city of London, the charter was conditionally adjudged to be forfeited; and the judgment was confirmed on the first day of the Michaelmas term. A copy of the judgment was received in Boston in July of the following year.

Thus fell the charter which the fleet of Winthrop had brought to the shores of New England, which had been cherished with anxious care through every vicissitude, and on which the fabric of New England liberties



had rested. There was now no barrier between the people of Massachusetts and the absolute will of the court of England. Gloomy forebodings overspread the colony.

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## CHAPTER XXIII.

### COLONIZATION OF NORTH CAROLINA.

MEANTIME civilization had advanced at the south, and twin stars were emerging beyond the limits of Virginia. The country over which Soto had rambled in quest of gold, where Calvinists, befriended by Coligny, had sought a refuge, and where Raleigh had hoped to lay the foundations of colonial principalities, was beginning to submit to the culture of civilization.

The southern part of our republic, ever regarded as capable of producing all the staples that thrive on the borders of the tropics, was coveted by statesmen who controlled the whole patronage of the British realms. In March, 1663, the province of Carolina, extending from the thirty-sixth degree of north latitude to the River San Matheo, was accordingly erected into one territory; and the historian Clarendon, the covetous though experienced minister; Monk, so conspicuous in the restoration, and now ennobled as duke of Albemarle; Lord Craven; Lord Ashley Cooper, afterwards earl of Shaftesbury; Sir John Colleton; Lord John Berkeley, with his younger brother, Sir William Berkeley, the governor of Virginia; and the passionate, ignorant, and not too honest Sir George Carteret, — were constituted its proprietors and immediate sovereigns.

The grant had hardly been made before it became apparent that there were competitors claiming possession of the same territory. It was included by the Spaniards within the limits of Florida; and the castle

of St. Augustine was deemed proof of the actual possession of an indefinite adjacent country. Spain had never formally acknowledged the English title to any possessions in America; and when, in May, 1667, a treaty was finally concluded at Madrid, it did but faintly concede the right of England to her transatlantic colonies, and to a continuance of commerce in "the accustomed seas."

But Spain did not alone claim Carolina. In 1630, a patent for all the territory had been issued to Sir Robert Heath; and there is room to believe that, in 1639, permanent plantations were planned, and perhaps attempted, by his assign. But that was now declared void, because the purposes for which it was granted had never been fulfilled.

More stubborn rivals were found to have already planted themselves on the River Cape Fear. In 1660 or 1661, a few New England men, navigating a little bark, had made their way into the Cape Fear River, and, purchasing of the Indian chiefs a title to the soil, began a little colony of herdsmen far to the south of any English settlement on the continent. The infant town planted on Oldtown Creek, near the south side of Cape Fear River, did not prosper; but New England planters and New England principles of popular liberty remained in North Carolina; and to them may fairly be traced something of the resolute spirit for which the colony was distinguished.

The first settlements on Albemarle Sound were a result of spontaneous overflowings from Virginia. Perhaps a few vagrant families were planted within the limits of Carolina before the restoration. At that period, men who were impatient of interference, who dreaded the enforcement of religious conformity, who distrusted the spirit of the new government in Virginia, plunged more deeply into the forests. It is known that, in 1662, the chief of the Yeopim Indians granted to George Durant the neck of land which still bears his name; and, in the following year, George Cathmaid

could claim from Sir William Berkeley a large grant of land upon the Sound, as a reward for having established sixty-seven persons in Carolina. This may have been the oldest considerable settlement; there is reason to believe that volunteer emigrants had preceded them. In September, the colony had attracted the attention of the proprietaries, and Berkeley was commissioned to institute a government over the region, which, in honor of Monk, received the name of Albemarle, that time has transferred to the bay. The plantations were chiefly on the north-east bank of the Chowan; and, as the mouth of that river is north of the thirty-sixth parallel of latitude, they were not included in the first patent of Carolina. Yet Berkeley, who was but governor of Virginia, and was a joint proprietary of Carolina, obeyed his interest as land-holder more than his duty as governor, and, severing the settlement from the Ancient Dominion, established a separate government over men who had fled into the woods for the enjoyment of independence, and who had already, at least in part, obtained a grant of their lands from the aboriginal lords of the soil.

Berkeley did not venture to discuss the political principles, or dispute the possessions, of these bold pioneers. He appointed William Drummond—an emigrant to Virginia from Scotland, probably a Presbyterian, a man of prudence and popularity, deeply imbued with the passion for popular liberty—to be the governor of Northern Carolina; and, instituting a simple form of government, a Carolina assembly, and an easy tenure of lands, he left the infant people to take care of themselves; to enjoy liberty of conscience and of conduct in the entire freedom of innocent retirement; to forget the world, till, in 1666, rent-day should draw near, and quitrents be demanded. Such was the origin of fixed settlements in North Carolina. The child of ecclesiastical oppression was swathed in independence.

But not New England and Virginia only turned their eyes to the southern part of our republic. Several

planters of Barbadoes had, in 1663, despatched a vessel to examine the country, and purchase a tract of land on Cape Fear River. Under an ample grant of liberties from the proprietaries, Sir John Yeamans conducted, in the autumn of 1665, a band of emigrants from Barbadoes, and on the south bank of Cape Fear River laid the foundation of a town, which flourished so little, that its site is at this day a subject of dispute.

Meantime the proprietaries, indifferent to the claims of Virginia, and in open contempt of Spain, in June, 1665, obtained from the king a new charter, which granted to them, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, all the land lying between twenty-nine degrees and thirty-six degrees thirty minutes, north latitude; a territory extending seven and a half degrees from north to south, and more than forty degrees from east to west; comprising all the territory of North and South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, much of Florida and Missouri, nearly all of Texas, and a large portion of Mexico. The soil, and, under the limitation of a nominal allegiance, the sovereignty also, were theirs, with the power of legislation, subject to the consent of the future freemen of the colony. The grant of privileges was ample, like those to Rhode Island and Connecticut. An express clause opened the way for religious freedom; another gave them the power of erecting cities and manors, counties and baronies, and of establishing orders of nobility, with other than English titles.

With the new charters the designs of the company expanded. The germs of colonies already existed; imagination encouraged in futurity every extravagant anticipation; and, in 1668, Ashley Cooper, earl of Shaftesbury, the most active and the most able of the corporators, was deputed to frame for the dawning states a constitution.

Shaftesbury was at this time in the full maturity of his powers; celebrated for eloquence, philosophic genius, and sagacity; high in power, and of aspiring

ambition. Born to great hereditary wealth, the pupil of Prideaux had given his early years to the assiduous pursuit of knowledge; the intellectual part of his nature had from boyhood obtained the mastery over the love of indulgence and luxury. Connected with the great landed aristocracy of England, cradled in politics, and chosen a member of parliament at the age of nineteen, his long public career was checkered by the greatest varieties of success. But though, with his changing fortunes, he often changed his associates, he never changed his purposes: alike the enemy to absolute monarchy and to democratic influence, he resolutely connected his own aggrandizement with the privileges and interests of British commerce, of Protestant religious liberty, and of the landed aristocracy of England. The "nobility" was, in his view, the "rock" of "English principles;" the power of the peerage, and of arbitrary monarchy, were "as two buckets, of which one goes down exactly as the other goes up." In the people of England, as the depository of power and freedom, Shaftesbury had no confidence; his system protected wealth and privilege.

At a time when John Locke was unknown to the world, the sagacity of Shaftesbury had detected the deep riches of his mind, and selected him for a bosom friend and adviser in the work of legislation for Carolina. Locke was at this time in the midway of life, adorning the clearest understanding with the graces of gentleness, good humor, and beautiful ingenuousness. Of a sunny disposition, he could be choleric without malice, and gay without levity. Like the younger Winthrop, he was a most dutiful son. His lucid mind despised the speculations of a twilight philosophy, esteeming the pursuit of truth the first object of life, and its attainment as the criterion of dignity; and therefore he never sacrificed a conviction to an interest. The ill success of the democratic revolution of England had made him an enemy to popular innovations; and he regarded the privileges of the nobility as the guaranties

of English liberties. Destitute of a love for ideal excellence, he believed it possible to construct the future according to the forms of the past. No voice of God within his soul called him away from the established usages of England; and, as he went forth to lay the foundations of civil government in the wilderness, he bowed his mighty understanding to the persuasive influence of Shaftesbury.

But the formation of political institutions in the United States was not effected by "nobles after the flesh." American history knows but one avenue to success in American legislation—freedom from ancient prejudice. The truly great lawgivers in our colonies first became as little children.

"The interests of the proprietors," the desire of "a government most agreeable to monarchy," and the dread of "a numerous democracy," are avowed as the motives for forming the fundamental constitutions of Carolina.

The proprietaries, as sovereigns, constituted a close corporation of eight—a number which was never to be diminished or increased. The dignity was hereditary; in default of heirs, the survivors elected a successor. Thus was formed an upper house.

The creation of two orders of nobility, of one landgrave or earl, of two caciques or barons for each county, preceded the distribution of lands into five equal parts, of which one remained the inalienable property of the proprietaries, and another formed the inalienable and indivisible estates of the nobility. The remaining three fifths were reserved for what was called the people. The number of the nobility might neither be increased nor diminished; election supplied the places left vacant for want of heirs; for, by an agrarian principle, estates and dignities were not allowed to accumulate.

The leet-men, or tenants, were to be adscript to the soil, "under the jurisdiction of their lord, without appeal;" and it was added, "all the children of leet-men



shall be leet-men, and so to all generations." "Every freeman of Carolina shall have absolute power and authority over his negro slaves." No elective franchise could be conferred on a freehold of less than fifty acres. All executive power, and, in the last resort, all judiciary power, rested with the proprietaries themselves. Of the fifty who composed the grand council of Carolina, fourteen only represented the commons, and of these fourteen the tenure of office was for life.

The constitutions recognized four estates—the proprietaries, the landgraves, the caciques, and the commons. In the parliament, all the estates assembled in one chamber; apart from the proprietaries, who might appear by deputies, the commons elected four members for every three of the nobility; but none but large proprietaries were eligible. Thus executive, judicial, and even legislative power was virtually independent of the people.

While every religion was tolerated, the Church of England—it is the only clause ingrafted upon the constitutions by the proprietaries against the wishes of Locke—was declared to be the only true and orthodox, the national religion of Carolina, and therefore alone to receive public maintenance by grants from the colonial parliament.

The constitutions were signed in March, 1670, and in England became the theme of extravagant applause; and the proprietaries believed they had set their seals to "a sacred and unalterable" instrument, which they fearlessly decreed should endure "forever." As far as depended upon the proprietaries, the government was immediately organized; and Monk, duke of Albemarle, was constituted palatine.

Albemarle had been increased by fresh emigrants from New England, and by a colony of ship-builders from the Bermudas, who, in 1667, lived contentedly with Stevens as chief magistrate, under a very wise and simple form of government. A few words express its outlines: a council of twelve, six named by the pro-

prietaries, and six chosen by the assembly; an assembly, composed of the governor, the council, and twelve delegates from the freeholders of the incipient settlements, — formed a government worthy of popular confidence.

The authentic record of the legislative history of North Carolina, begins with the autumn of 1669. It was then enacted that none should for five years be sued for any cause of action arising out of the country. Marriage was made a civil contract. New settlers were exempted from taxation for a year. Strangers were prohibited from trading with the neighboring Indians. As every adventurer who joined the colony received a bounty in land, frauds were checked by withholding a perfect title, till the emigrant should have resided two years in the colony. The members of this early legislature probably received no compensation; to meet the expenses of the governor and council, a fee of thirty pounds of tobacco was exacted in every lawsuit. Such was the simple legislation of men, who, being destitute of fortune, had roamed in quest of it. The laws were confirmed by the proprietaries, were reënacted in 1715, and were valid in North Carolina for more than half a century.

Hardly had these few laws been established, when the new constitution was forwarded to Albemarle; but the nature of the people rendered its introduction impossible. The proprietaries, contrary to stipulations with the colonists, superseded the existing government; and the colonists resolutely rejected the substitute.

Far different was the welcome with which the people of North Carolina, in 1672, met the first messengers of religion. From the commencement of the settlement, there seems not to have been a minister in the land. But when, in 1672, William Edmundson came to visit his Quaker brethren among the groves of Albemarle, "he met with a tender people." A quarterly meeting of discipline was established; and the sect, of

which opposition to spiritual authority is the badge, was the first to organize a religious government in Carolina.

In the autumn of the same year, George Fox, the father of the sect, the upright man, who could say of himself, "What I am in words, I am the same in life," travelled across "the great bogs" of the Dismal Swamp, commonly "laying abroad anights in the woods by a fire," till at last he reached a house in Carolina, and obtained the luxury of a mat by the fireside. Carolina had ever been the refuge of fugitives from ecclesiastical oppression. The people "lived lonely in the woods," with no other guardian to their solitary houses than a watch-dog. The plantations of that day were upon the bay, and along the streams that flow into it; the rivers and the inlets were the highways of Carolina; the boat and the lighter birchen skiff the only equipage; every man knew how to handle the oar; and there was hardly a woman in the land but could paddle a canoe. Here was a colony of men from civilized life, scattered among the forests, hermits with wives and children, resting on the bosom of nature, in perfect harmony with the wilderness of their gentle clime. With absolute freedom of conscience, benevolent reason was the simple rule of their conduct. Such was the people to whom George Fox "opened many things concerning the light and spirit of God that is in every one," without distinction of education or race. The governor of the province, with his wife, "received him lovingly." From the house of the governor the traveller continued his journey to the residence of "Joseph Scot, one of the representatives of the country," where he had "a sound and precious meeting" with the people. His eloquence reached their hearts, for he did but assert the paramount value of the impulses and feelings which had guided them in the wilderness. At another meeting, "the chief secretary of the province," who "had been formerly convinced," was present; and Fox became his guest, yet not without "much ado;" for, as the boat approached his plantation, it grounded in the shallow

channel, and could not be brought to shore. But a little skiff shot promptly to the traveller's relief; the wife of the secretary of state came herself in a canoe, and brought him to her hospitable home. Among emigrants like these, the introduction of the constitutions of Locke was impossible.

In 1674, while it was thus practically uncertain what was the government of North Carolina, the country was left without a governor by the death of Stevens. The assembly, conforming to a prudent instruction of the proprietaries, continued to elect a successor; until, in 1677, Miller arrived in the province, in which he was to hold the triple office of president or governor, secretary, and collector.

At that time North Carolina hardly contained four thousand inhabitants; a few fat cattle, a little maize, and eight hundred hogsheads of tobacco, formed all their exports; their humble commerce had attracted none but small vessels from New England; and the mariners of Boston, guiding their vessels through the narrow entrances of the bay, brought to the doors of the scattered planters the few foreign articles which the exchange of their produce could purchase. And yet this inconsiderable traffic, so little alluring, but so convenient to the colonists, was envied by the English merchant; the law of 1672 was now to be enforced; the traders of Boston were to be crowded from the market by an unreasonable duty, and the planters to send their harvests to England as they could.

The attempt at enforcing the navigation acts in 1678, hastened an insurrection, which was fostered by refugees from Virginia, and by New England men; and which, having been the effect of deliberate contrivance, was justified by the first American manifesto. Excessive taxation, an abridgment of political liberty by the change in the form of government, with the "denial of a free election of an assembly," and the unwise interruption of the natural channels of commerce, were the threefold grievances of the colony. The leader in the insurrection was John

Culpepper, one of those "very ill men" who loved popular liberty, and whom the royalists of that day denounced as having merited "hanging, for endeavoring to set the poor people to plunder the rich." One of the counsellors joined in the rebellion; the rest, with Miller, were imprisoned, "that thereby the country may have a free parliament, and may send home their grievances." Having deposed and imprisoned the president and the deputies of the proprietaries, and set at nought the acts of parliament, the people recovered from anarchy, tranquilly organized a government, and established courts of justice. The insurgents, having completed their institutions, in 1679, sent Culpepper and another to England to negotiate a compromise. It proves in Culpepper a conviction of his own rectitude, that he did not hesitate to accept the trust.

To a struggle between the planters and the proprietaries, the English public had been indifferent; but Miller, escaping from Carolina, presented himself as the champion of the navigation acts, and enlisted in his favor the jealous anger of the mercantile cities. Culpepper was taken into custody, and his opposition to the proprietaries was held, under a statute of Henry VIII., to justify an indictment for high treason, committed without the realm. Against the act of tyranny Culpepper vainly protested, claiming "to be tried in Carolina, where the act was committed." "Let no favor be shown him," said Lauderdale and the lords of the plantations. But when, in June, 1680, he was brought up for trial, Shaftesbury, who at that time was in the zenith of popularity, with clear sagacity, penetrated the injustice of the accusation, appeared in his defence, and procured his acquittal. Thus was the insurrection in Carolina excused by the verdict of an English jury.

But how should the proprietaries establish their authority in the plantations? It was a natural expedient to send one of the proprietaries themselves to look after the interests of the company; and, in 1680, Seth Sothel, who had purchased the rights of Lord Clarendon, was



selected for the purpose. Sothel, on reaching the colony, in 1683, found tranquillity established. The counties were quiet and well regulated, because not subjected to a foreign sway; the planters, in peaceful independence, enjoyed the freedom of the wilderness. The proprietary arrived and the scene was changed.

To introduce the constitutions was impossible, unless for one who could transform a log cabin into a baronial castle, a negro slave into a herd of leet-men. And how could one man, without soldiers, and without a vessel of war, enforce the navigation acts? Having neither the views nor the qualities of a statesman, Sothel had no higher purpose than to satiate his sordid passions, and, like so many others, employed his power to gratify his covetousness, by exacting unjust fees, or by engrossing traffic with the Indians. His object was money, and he valued his office as the means of gaining it. His avarice was not unusually exorbitant. He did but practise the arts of exaction with which nearly every royal province was becoming familiar. But the people of North Carolina were already experienced in rebellion. They bore with him about five years, and, in 1688, deposed him without bloodshed, condemning him to a twelve months' exile, and a perpetual incapacity for the government.

Here was a double grief to the proprietaries; the rapacity of Sothel was a breach of trust, the judgment of the assembly an ominous usurpation. The planters of North Carolina recovered tranquillity as soon as they escaped the misrule from abroad, and, sure of amnesty, esteemed themselves the happiest people on earth. They loved the pure air and clear skies of their "summer land." True, there was no fixed minister in the land till 1703; no church erected till 1705; no separate building for a court-house till 1722; no printing-press till 1754. Careless of religious sects, or colleges, or lawyers, or absolute laws, the early settlers enjoyed liberty of conscience and personal independence, freedom of the forest and of the river, and they desired no greater happiness than they enjoyed.



## CHAPTER XXIV.

## COLONIZATION OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

OF South Carolina, the first settlement was founded by the proprietaries, and resembled in its origin an investment of capital by a company of land-jobbers, who furnished the emigrants with the means of embarking for America, established on its shores their own commercial agent, and undertook for themselves the management of all commercial transactions. But success attended neither the government which they formed, nor the industry which they fostered. South Carolina was a scene of turbulence till the constitutions were abandoned; and industry was unproductive till the colonists despised patronage and relied on themselves.

It was in January, 1670, more than a month before the Grand Model was signed, a considerable number of emigrants set sail for Carolina, which, both from climate and soil, was celebrated in advance as "the beauty and envy of North America." They were conducted by Joseph West, as commercial agent for the proprietaries, and by William Sayle, who was probably a Presbyterian, and was now constituted a proprietary governor, with jurisdiction extending as far north as Cape Carteret, as far south as the Spaniards would tolerate. Having touched at Ireland and Bermuda, the ships which bore the company entered the well-known waters where the fleet of Ribault had anchored, and examined the spot where the Huguenots had engraved the lilies of France, and erected the fortress of Carolina. But the vicinity of Beaufort was not destined to harbor the first colony of the English; the emigrants, after short delay, sailed into Ashley River, and on "the first highland," in a spot that seemed "convenient for tillage and pasturing," the three shiploads of emigrants, who as yet formed the whole people of South Carolina, selected their resting-place,

and began their first town. Of this town not a vestige remains, except the line of a moat, which served as a defence against Indians. Every log-house has vanished, and the site is absorbed in a plantation.

The emigrants had hardly landed, before they instituted a government on the basis of liberty. An unfinished copy of the fundamental constitutions had been furnished them; but it was indeed impossible "to execute the grand model." As easily might trees have been turned into cathedrals, or castles, at a word, erected in these solitary groves on the savannas. A parliamentary convention was held; five members of the grand council were elected to act with five whom the proprietaries had appointed; the whole body possessed a veto on the executive; and, with the governor and twenty delegates, who were now elected by the people, became the legislature of the province. Representative government was established, and continued to be cherished. The proprietaries indulged the vision of realizing the introduction of the constitutions. John Locke, Sir John Yeamans, and James Carteret, were created landgraves; and a complete copy of the Model was sent over, with a set of rules and instructions. But Shaftesbury misjudged; there was already a people in South Carolina; and the validity of the constitutions was firmly resisted by the popular representatives. Thus the organization of the commonwealth contained a political feud, and led to the party of the proprietaries and the party of the people; religious divisions combining with political feuds, the friends of the High Church, always a minority, favored the former, while all classes of dissenters united with the latter.

The first site for a town had been chosen without regard to commerce. The point between the two rivers, to which the names of Shaftesbury were given, soon attracted attention; in 1672, those who had obtained grants there, desirous of neighbors, willingly offered to surrender one half of their land as "commons of pasture." The offer was in part refused; in 1680, on Oys-

ter Point, the neck of land now covered by Charleston, the cabins of graziers began the city. The settlement, though for some years it struggled against an unhealthy climate, steadily increased.

The institutions of Carolina were still further modified by the character of the emigration that began to throng to her soil. The proprietaries continued to send emigrants, who were tempted by the offer of land at an easy quitrent. Clothes and provisions were distributed to those who could not provide themselves.

In 1671, Sir John Yeamans arrived from Barbadoes with African slaves. Thus the institution of negro slavery is coëval with the first plantations on Ashley River. Of the original thirteen states, South Carolina alone was from its cradle essentially a planting state with slaves. The labor of felling the forests, of tilling the soil, was avoided by the white man; climate favored the purposes of commercial avarice; and the negro race was multiplied so rapidly by importations, that in a few years, we are told, the blacks were to the whites as twenty-two to twelve — a proportion that had no parallel north of the West Indies.

The changes that were taking place on the banks of the Hudson had excited discontent; the rumor of wealth to be derived from the fertility of the south, cherished the desire of emigration; and almost within a year from the arrival of the first fleet in Ashley River, two ships came with Dutch emigrants from New York, and were followed by others of their countrymen from Holland.

Imagination already regarded Carolina as the chosen spot for the culture of the olive; and, in the region where flowers bloom every month in the year, orange-trees were to supplant the cedar, silkworms to be fed from plantations of mulberries, and choicest wines to ripen under a nearly tropical sun. For this end, in April, 1679, Charles II., with an almost solitary exercise of munificence towards a colony, provided, at his own expense, two small vessels, to transport to Carolina

a few foreign Protestants, who might there domesticate the productions of the south of Europe.

From England, also, emigrations were considerable. The character of the proprietaries was a sufficient invitation to the impoverished Cavalier; and the unfortunate of the Church of England could look to the shores of Carolina as the refuge where they were assured of favor. Even Shaftesbury, in 1681, when he was committed to the Tower, desired leave to expatriate himself, and inhabit Carolina.

Nor did Churchmen alone emigrate. The promise of equal immunities tempted dissenters beyond the Atlantic, to colonies where their worship was tolerated. Of these, many were attracted to the glowing clime of Carolina, carrying with them intelligence, industry, and sobriety.

A colony of Irish, under Ferguson, were lured by the fame of the fertility of the south, and were received with so hearty a welcome, that they were soon merged among the other colonists.

The condition of Scotland, also, compelled its inhabitants to seek peace by abandoning their native country. In 1683, just after the death of Shaftesbury, a scheme, which had been concerted during the tyranny of Lauderdale, was revived. Thirty-six noblemen and gentlemen had entered into an association for planting a colony in the New World; their agents had contracted with the patentees of South Carolina for a large district of land, where Scottish exiles for religion might enjoy freedom of faith and a government of their own. Yet the design was never completely executed. It was with but a small colony that the Presbyterian Lord Cardross, many of whose friends had suffered imprisonment, the rack, and death itself, and who had himself been persecuted under Lauderdale, set sail for Carolina. But, even there, the ten families of outcasts found no peace. They planted themselves, in 1684, at Beaufort, in Port Royal; the colony of Ashley River claimed over them a jurisdiction which was reluctantly

conceded. Cardross returned to Europe, to render service in the approaching revolution; and the Spaniards, taking umbrage at a plantation established on ground which they claimed as a dependency of St. Augustine, in 1686, invaded the frontier settlement, and laid it entirely waste. Of the unhappy emigrants, some returned to Scotland, some mingled with the earlier planters of Carolina.

More than a hundred years had elapsed since Coligny, with the sanction of the French monarch, had selected the southern regions of the United States as the residence of Huguenots. The realization of that design is the most remarkable incident in the early history of South Carolina.

John Calvin, by birth a Frenchman, was to France the apostle of the reformation; but his faith had ever been feared as the creed of republicanism; his party had been pursued as the sect of rebellion; and it was only by force of arms, that the Huguenots had obtained a conditional toleration. Even the edict of Nantz placed their security, not on the acknowledgment of the permanent principle of legislative justice, but on a compromise between contending parties. It was but a confirmation of privileges which had been extorted from the predecessors of Henry IV. And yet it was the harbinger of religious peace; so long as the edict of Nantz was honestly respected, the Huguenots of Languedoc were as tranquil as the Lutherans of Alsace. But their tranquillity invited from their enemies a renewal of attacks; no longer a powerful faction, they were oppressed with rigor; having ceased to be feared, they were exposed to persecution.

At length, on the twenty-second of October, 1685, the edict of Nantz was formally revoked. Calvinists might no longer preach in churches or in the ruins of churches; all public worship was forbidden them; and Louis XIV. believed his glory perfected by an absolute union of all dissenters with the Roman church.

But the efforts of tyranny were powerless. Truth



enjoys serenely her own immortality; and opinion, which always yields to a clearer conviction, laughs violence to scorn. The unparalleled persecution of vast masses of men for their religious creed, occasioned but a new display of the power of humanity; the Calvinists preserved their faith over the ashes of their churches, and the bodies of their murdered ministers. The power of a brutal soldiery was defied by whole companies of faithful men, that still assembled to sing their psalms; and from the country and the city, from the comfortable homes of wealthy merchants, from the abodes of an humbler peasantry, from the workshops of artisans, hundreds of thousands of men rose up, as with one heart, to bear testimony to the indefeasible, irresistible right to freedom of mind.

Every wise government was eager to offer a refuge to the upright men who would carry to other countries the arts, the skill in manufactures, and the wealth of France. Emigrant Huguenots put a new aspect on the north of Germany, where they formed towns and sections of cities, introducing manufactures before unknown. A suburb of London was filled with French mechanics; the prince of Orange gained entire regiments of soldiers, as brave as those whom Cromwell led to victory; a colony of them reached even the Cape of Good Hope. In our American colonies, they were welcome every where. The religious sympathies of New England were awakened. Did any arrive in poverty, having barely escaped with life—the towns of Massachusetts contributed liberally to their support, and provided them with lands. Others repaired to New York; but a warmer climate was more inviting to the exiles of Languedoc, and South Carolina became the chief resort of the Huguenots. What though the attempt to emigrate was by the law of France a felony? In spite of every precaution of the police, five hundred thousand persons escaped from their country. The unfortunate were more wakeful to fly than the ministers of tyranny to restrain.



"We quitted home by night, leaving the soldiers in their beds, and abandoning the house with its furniture," said Judith, the young wife of Pierre Manigault. "We contrived to hide ourselves for ten days at Romans, in Dauphiny, while a search was made for us; but our faithful hostess would not betray us." Nor could they escape to the seaboard, except by a circuitous journey through Germany and Holland, and thence to England in the depths of winter. "Having embarked at London, we were sadly off. The spotted fever appeared on board the vessel, and many died of the disease; among these our aged mother. We touched at Bermuda, where the vessel was seized. Our money was all spent; with great difficulty we procured a passage in another vessel. After our arrival in Carolina, we suffered every kind of evil. In eighteen months, our eldest brother, unaccustomed to the hard labor which we were obliged to undergo, died of a fever. Since leaving France, we had experienced every kind of affliction — disease, pestilence, famine, poverty, hard labor. I have been for six months, without tasting bread, working the ground like a slave; and I have passed three or four years without having it when I wanted it. And yet," adds the excellent woman, "God has done great things for us, in enabling us to bear up under so many trials."

This family was but one of many that found a shelter in Carolina, the general asylum of the Calvinist refugees. Escaping from a land where the profession of their religion was a felony, where their estates were liable to be confiscated in favor of the apostate, where the preaching of their faith was a crime to be expiated on the wheel, where their children might be torn from them, to be subjected to the nearest Catholic relation, — the fugitives from Languedoc on the Mediterranean, from Rochelle, and Saintange, and Bordeaux, the provinces on the Bay of Biscay, from St. Quentin, Poitiers, and the beautiful valley of Tours, from St. Lo and Dieppe, men who had the virtues of the English Puritans, with-

out their bigotry, came to the land to which the tolerant benevolence of Shaftesbury had invited the believer of every creed. Here they obtained an assignment of lands, and soon had tenements. Their church was in Charleston; and thither, on every Lord's day, gathering from their plantations upon the banks of the Cooper, and taking advantage of the ebb and flow of the tide, they might all regularly be seen, the parents with their children, whom no bigot could now wrest from them, making their way in light skiffs towards the flourishing village at the confluence of the rivers.

Other Huguenot emigrants established themselves on the south bank of the Santee, in a region which has since been celebrated for affluence and refined hospitality.

It has been usual to relate, that religious bigotry denied to the Huguenot emigrants immediate denization. If full hospitality was for a season withheld, the delay grew out of a controversy in which all Carolinians had a common interest; and the privileges of citizenship were conceded as soon as it could be done by Carolinians themselves. It was not yet determined with whom the power of naturalizing foreigners resided, nor how Carolina should be governed. The great mass of the people were intent on framing their own institutions; and collisions with the lords proprietors long kept the government in confusion.

At first the proprietaries acquiesced in a government which had little reference to the constitutions. The first governor had sunk under the climate and the hardships of founding a colony. His successor, Sir John Yeamans, was a sordid calculator, bent on acquiring a fortune. He encouraged his employers in expense, and enriched himself, without gaining respect or hatred. "It must be a bad soil," said his weary employers, "that will not maintain industrious men, or we must be very silly that would maintain the idle."

From 1674 to 1683, the moderation and good sense of West were able to preserve tranquillity; but the

lords, who had first purchased his services by the grant of all their merchandise and debts in Carolina, in the end dismissed him from office, on the charge that he favored the popular party.

The continued struggles with the proprietaries hastened the emancipation of the people from their rule; but the praise of having been always in the right cannot be awarded to the colonists. The latter claimed the right of weakening the neighboring Indian tribes by a partisan warfare, and a sale of the captives into West Indian bondage; their antagonists demanded that the treaty of peace with the natives should be preserved.

England had always favored its merchants in the invasion of the Spanish commercial monopoly; had sometimes protected pirates; and Charles II. had conferred the honors of knighthood on a freebooter. The treaty of 1667 changed the relations of the pirate and the contraband trader. But men's habits do not change so easily; and in Carolina, especially after Port Royal had been laid waste by the Spaniards, there were not wanting those who regarded the buccaneers as their natural allies against a common enemy, and thus opened one more issue with the proprietaries.

When, in 1685, a collector of plantation duties was appointed, a new struggle arose. The palatine court, careful not to offend the king, who, nevertheless, was not diverted from the design of annulling their charter by a process of law, gave orders that the acts of navigation should be enforced. The colonists, who had made themselves independent of the proprietaries in fact, esteemed themselves independent of parliament of right. Here, as every where, the acts were indignantly resisted as at war with natural equity; here they were also hated as an infringement of the conditions of the charter, of which the validity was their motive to emigrate.

The pregnant cause of dissensions in Carolina could not be removed, till the question of powers should be definitively settled. The proprietaries were willing to believe, that the cause existed in the want of dignity

and character in the governor. That affairs might be more firmly established, James Colleton, a brother of a proprietary, was appointed governor, with the rank of landgrave and an endowment of forty-eight thousand acres of land; but neither his relationship, nor his rank, nor his reputation, nor his office, nor his acres, could procure for him obedience; because the actual relations between the contending parties were in no respect changed. When Colleton, in November, 1686, met the colonial parliament which had been elected before his arrival, a majority refused to acknowledge the binding force of the constitutions; by a violent act of power, Colleton excluded the refractory members from the parliament. What could follow but a protest from the disfranchised members against any measures which might be adopted by the remaining minority?

The new parliament of 1687 was still more intractable; and the "standing laws" which they adopted were negatived by the palatine court.

From questions of political liberty, the strife between the parties extended to all their relations. When Colleton endeavored to collect quitrents, not only on cultivated fields, but on wild lands also, direct insubordination ensued; and the assembly, imprisoning the secretary of the province, and seizing the records, defied the governor and his patrons, and entered on a career of absolute opposition.

In 1689, Colleton resolved on one last, desperate effort, and, pretending danger from Indians or Spaniards, called out the militia, and declared martial law. But who were to execute martial law? The militia were the people, and there were no other troops. Colleton was in a more hopeless condition than ever; for the assembly believed itself bound to protect the country against a military despotism. It was evident the people were resolved on establishing a government agreeable to themselves. The English revolution of 1688 was therefore imitated on the banks of the Ashley and Cooper. In 1690, soon after William and

Mary were proclaimed, a meeting of the representatives of South Carolina disfranchised Colleton, and banished him from the province.

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## CHAPTER XXV.

### THE GRAND REBELLION IN VIRGINIA.

FOR more than eight years, "THE PEOPLE OF VIRGINIA" had governed themselves; and their government had been conducted with wise moderation. Tranquillity and a rapid increase of population promised the extension of its borders, and colonial life was sweetened by the enjoyment of equal franchises. Every officer was, directly or indirectly, chosen by the people.

The power of the people naturally grew out of the character of the early settlers, who were, most of them, adventurers, bringing to the New World no wealth but enterprise, no rank but that of manhood, no privileges but those of Englishmen. Unlike Massachusetts, Virginia was a continuation of English society. The first colonists were not fugitives from persecution; they came, rather, under the auspices of the nobility, the church, and the mercantile interests of England; they brought with them an attachment to monarchy, a deep reverence for the Anglican church, a love for England and English institutions. The principle of the English law which grants real estate to the eldest born, was respected; but generations of Virginians had hardly as yet succeeded each other; the rule had produced no effect upon society, and, from the beginning, had been modified in many counties by custom. Yet a body of large proprietors had existed from the infancy of the settlement; and their vast possessions began to awaken the feelings of family pride.



The power of the rising aristocracy was still further increased by the character of the plebeian population of Virginia. Many of them had come as servants, doomed, according to the severe laws of that age, to a temporary bondage; and this division of society into classes was unmitigated by public care for education. The system of common schools was unknown. "Every man," said Sir William Berkeley, in 1671, "instructs his children according to his ability" — a method which left the children of the ignorant to hopeless ignorance. "The ministers," continued Sir William, in the spirit of the aristocracy of the Tudors, "should pray oftener and preach less. But, I thank God, there are no free schools, nor printing; and I hope we shall not have, these hundred years; for learning has brought disobedience, and heresy, and sects, into the world, and printing has divulged them, and libels against the best government. God keep us from both!"

Still white laborers were emancipated, when their years of servitude were ended; and the law was designed to secure and to hasten their enfranchisement. The insurrection which was plotted by a number of servants in 1663, did not extend beyond a scheme of indented servants to anticipate the period of their freedom. The effort was the work of ignorant men, and was easily suppressed.

Towards the negro the laws were less tolerant. The statute which declares who are slaves, followed the old idea, long prevalent through Christendom, "All servants, not being Christians, imported into this country by shipping, shall be slaves." Yet it was added, "conversion to the Christian faith doth not make free." Doubts arose, if the offspring of an Englishman by a negro woman should be bond or free; and the rule of the Roman law prevailed over the Anglo-Saxon: the offspring followed the condition of its mother. "The death of a slave from extremity of correction, was not accounted felony." Finally, it was made lawful for "persons, pur-



suing fugitive colored slaves, to wound, or even to kill them." The master was absolute lord over the negro.

The aristocracy, which was thus confirmed in its influence by the extent of its domains, by its superior intelligence, and by the character of a large part of the laboring class, naturally aspired to the government of the country; from among them the council was selected; many of them were returned as members of the legislature; and in the organization of the militia, they also held commissions. The entire absence of local municipal governments necessarily led to an extension of the power of the magistrates. The justices of the peace for each county fixed the amount of county taxes, assessed and collected them, and superintended their disbursement; so that military, judicial, legislative, and executive powers were often deposited in the hands of men, who, as owners of large estates, masters of many indentured servants, and lords of slaves, already indicated an established aristocracy.

The emigrant royalists had hitherto not acted as a political party, but took advantage of peace to establish their fortunes. On the tidings of the restoration of Charles II., the fires of loyalty blazed up, perhaps the more vehemently for their long inactivity. Virginia shared the passionate joy of England; and, with general consent, Sir William Berkeley, no longer acting as governor, elected by the people, but assuming such powers as his royal commission bestowed, issued writs for an assembly in the name of the king. The sovereignty over itself, which Virginia had exercised so well, had come to an end.

The apprehensions of Virginia were awakened by the establishment of the colonial monopoly in the navigation act; and the assembly, alarmed at this open violation of the natural and prescriptive "freedoms" of the colony, appointed Sir William Berkeley its agent, to present the grievances of Virginia and procure their redress. Here, again, the influence of royalist legislation is perceptible.

But Sir William Berkeley did not, even after years of

experience, understand the principles of the act against which he was deputed to expostulate. We have seen that he obtained for himself and partners a portion of the territory of Virginia; for the colony he did not secure one franchise; and Virginia long and vainly attempted to devise a remedy against the commercial oppression of England.

Thus, at the very season when the rising aristocracy of Virginia was seeking, by the aid of royal influence, to confirm its supremacy, the policy of the English government oppressed colonial industry so severely as to excite the hostility of the province. The party which united with the officers of the crown in the desire of gaining a triumph over democratic influences, was always on the point of reconciling itself with the people, and making a common cause against the tyranny of the metropolis.

At the epoch of the restoration, the royalist party had gained the ascendancy in the legislature, elected under the first influence of excited loyalty. At once it disfranchised "a factious and schismatical magistrate;" and, in the course of its long-continued sessions, it modified the democratical features of the constitution, till a radical change was effected. In 1662, the English Episcopal church became once more the religion of the state. For assessing parish taxes, twelve vestrymen were now to be chosen in each parish, with power to fill all vacancies in their own body; so that the control of church affairs passed from the parish to a close corporation. No non-conformist might teach, even in private, under pain of banishment; no reader might expound the Catechism or the Scriptures. The obsolete severity of the laws of Queen Elizabeth was revived against the Quakers. Absence from church was for them an offence, punishable by a monthly fine of twenty pounds sterling. To meet in conventicles of their own, was forbidden under further penalties. To the remonstrance of the Quaker Owen, that "tender consciences must obey the law of God, however they suffer," the answer was, "there is no toleration for wicked consciences."

Virginia permitted no ceremony of marriage but according to the rubric in the Book of Common Prayer. The "new-fangled conceits" of the Baptists were punished by a heavy mulct. In 1663, Virginia, as if resolved to hasten the colonization of North Carolina, sharpened her laws against all separatists, punished their meetings by heavy fines, and ordered the more affluent to pay the forfeitures of the poor. The colony, that should have opened its doors wide to all the persecuted, punished the ship-master that received non-conformists as passengers, and threatened such as resided in the colony with banishment. John Porter, the burgess for Lower Norfolk, was expelled from the assembly, "because he was well affected to the Quakers."

The legislature was equally friendly to the power of the crown. In every colony where Puritanism prevailed, there was a uniform disposition to refuse a fixed salary to the royal governor. The royalist legislature of Virginia, for the purpose of well paying his majesty's officers, established, in 1662, a constant revenue by a permanent imposition on all exported tobacco; and the royal officers, requiring no further action of an assembly for granting taxes, were placed above the influence of colonial legislation.

The organization of the judiciary placed that department of the government almost entirely beyond the control of the people. The governor and council were the highest ordinary tribunal; and these were all appointed, directly or indirectly, by the crown: besides this, there were in each county eight unpaid justices of the peace, commissioned by the governor during his pleasure. These justices held monthly courts, in their respective counties. Thus the administration of justice, in the counties, was in the hands of persons holding their offices at the good-will of the governor; while the governor himself, and his executive council, constituted the general court, and had cognizance of all sorts of causes. Was an appeal made to chancery—it was but for another hearing before the same men; and it was only

for a few years longer that appeals were permitted from the general court to the assembly. The place of sheriff in each county was conferred on one of the justices for that county, and so devolved to every commissioner in course.

But the county courts, thus independent of the people, possessed and exercised the arbitrary power of levying county taxes, which in their amount usually exceeded the public levy. This system proceeded so far, that the commissioners, of themselves, levied taxes to meet their own expenses. In like manner, the self-perpetuating vestries made out their lists of tithables, and assessed taxes without regard to the consent of the parish. These private levies were unequal and oppressive; were seldom — it is said, never — brought to audit; and were, in some cases at least, managed by men who combined to defraud the public.

For the organization of the courts, ancient usage could be pleaded. A series of innovations gradually effected a revolution in the system of representation. The law which limited the duration of legislative service to two years, was silently but “utterly abrogated and repealed;” and the legislators assumed to themselves, by their own act, an indefinite continuance of power. The parliament of England, chosen on the restoration, was not dissolved for eighteen years. The legislature of Virginia retained its authority for almost as long a period, and yielded it only to an insurrection.

The rate of wages of the burgesses — far greater than is tolerated in these days of opulence — was fixed by the same assembly, and for its own members, who had usurped, as it were, a perpetuity of office. The taxes for this purpose were paid with great reluctance, and, as they amounted to about two hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco for the daily emoluments of each member, were for a new country an intolerable grievance.

The freedom of elections was further impaired by “frequent false returns” made by the sheriffs. Against

these the people had no sufficient redress; for the sheriffs were responsible neither to them nor to officers of their appointment.

The system of universal suffrage could not permanently find favor with an assembly which had given to itself an indefinite existence. The restrictions adopted by the monarchical government of England, were cited as a fit precedent for English colonies; and, in 1670, it was enacted that "none but freeholders and housekeepers shall hereafter have a voice in the election of any burgesses."

Thus was a majority of the people of Virginia disfranchised by the act of their own representatives. An assembly continuing for an indefinite period at the pleasure of the governor, and decreeing to its members extravagant and burdensome emoluments; a royal governor, whose salary was established by a permanent system of taxation; a constituency restricted and diminished; religious liberty taken away almost as soon as it had been won; arbitrary taxation in the counties by irresponsible magistrates; a hostility to popular education, and to the press;—these were the changes which, in about ten years, were effected in a province that had begun to enjoy a virtual independence.

The English parliament had crippled the industry of the planters of Virginia; the colonial assembly had diminished the franchises and impaired the powers of its people; Charles II. was equally careless of the rights and property of its tens of thousands of inhabitants. In 1649, just after the execution of Charles I., during the extreme anxiety and despair of the royalists, a patent for the Northern Neck, that is, for the country between the Rappahannock and the Potomac, had been granted to a company of Cavaliers, as a refuge for their partisans. In May, 1669, this patent was surrendered, that a new one might be issued to Lord Culpepper, who had succeeded in acquiring the shares of all the associates. The grant was extremely oppressive, for it included plantations which had long been cultivated. But



the prodigality of the king was not exhausted. To Lord Culpepper, and to Henry, earl of Arlington, the lavish sovereign of England, in February, 1673, gave away "all the dominion of land and water, called Virginia," for the full term of thirty-one years.

Thus the royalist party in Virginia drew on itself indignation by its suppression of colonial liberties, and equally lost favor from the wanton ingratitude and reckless prodigality of the English king. Virginia was at once distracted by domestic contests, and stung to rebel by the royal invasion of civil rights and property.

The assembly of Virginia, composed, in part at least, of opulent landholders, were excited to alarm by dangers which were menaced by the thoughtless grants of a profligate prince; and, in 1674, Francis Morryson, Thomas Ludwell, and Robert Smith, were appointed agents to sail for England, and enter on the difficult duty of recovering for the king that supremacy which he had so foolishly dallied away. "We are unwilling," said the assembly, "and conceive we ought not, to submit to those to whom his majesty, upon misinformation, hath granted the dominion over us." At the same time they asked for the immunities of a corporation.

The messengers of Virginia more than fulfilled their instructions. They asserted the natural liberties of the colonists; claimed, with earnest zeal, an exemption for them from arbitrary taxation; and insisted on their indefeasible right to the enjoyment of legislative powers, as the birthright of the children of Englishmen. But fidelity, justice, and favor, were not enough to secure the object. A secret influence was irrevocably exerted against the grant of a charter. The agents were detained a twelvemonth without making any progress, when the news reached England of events which involved the Ancient Dominion in gloomy disasters.

For, at the time when the envoys were appointed, Virginia was rocking with the excitements that grew out of its domestic griefs. The rapid and effectual abridgment of its popular liberties, joined to the uncertain



tenure of property that followed the announcement of the royal grants, would have roused any nation; how much more a people like the Virginians! The generation now in existence were chiefly the fruit of the soil; they were children of the woods, nurtured in the freedom of the wilderness, and dwelling in lonely cottages, scattered along the streams. No newspapers entered their houses; no printing-press furnished them a book. They had no recreations but such as Nature provides in her wilds, no education but such as parents in the desert could give their offspring. The paths were bridleways rather than roads; and the highway surveyors aimed at nothing more than to keep them clear of logs and fallen trees. I doubt if there existed what we should call a bridge in the whole Dominion. Visits were made in boats, or on horseback through the forests; and the Virginian, travelling with his pouch of tobacco for currency, swam the rivers, where there was neither ferry nor ford. Almost every planter was his own mechanic. The houses, for the most part of but one story, and made of wood, often of logs, the windows closed by convenient shutters for want of glass, were sprinkled at great distances on both sides of the Chesapeake, from the Potomac to the line of Carolina. There was hardly such a sight as a cluster of three dwellings. Jamestown was but a place of a state-house, one church, and eighteen houses. Till recently, the legislature had assembled in an ale-house. Virginia had neither towns nor lawyers. A few of the wealthier planters lived in braver state at their large plantations, and, surrounded by indented servants and slaves, produced a form of society that has sometimes been likened to the manners of the patriarchs, and sometimes to the baronial pride of feudalism. The inventory of Sir William Berkeley gave him seventy horses, as well as large flocks of sheep. "Almost every man lived within sight of a lovely river." The parish was of such extent, spreading over a tract which a day's jour-

ney could not cross, that the people met together but once on the Lord's day, and sometimes not at all; the church, rudely built in some central solitude, was seldom visited by the more remote families, and was liable to become inaccessible by the broken limbs from forest-trees, or the wanton growth of underwood and thickets.

Here was a new form of human nature. A love of freedom inclining to anarchy pervaded the country. In Europe, people gathered in towns; here they lived by themselves. In the Old World, even the peasantry crowded together into compact villages. The farmers of Virginia lived asunder, and in their mild climate were scattered very widely, rarely meeting in numbers, except at the horse-race or the county court.

It was among such a people, which had never been disciplined to resistance by the heresies of sects, or the new opinions of "factious" parties, — which, till the restoration, had found the wilderness a safe protection against tyranny, and had enjoyed "a fifty years' experience of a government easy to the people," — that the pressure of increasing grievances began to excite open discontent. Men gathered together in the gloom of the forests to talk of their hardships. The common people, half conscious of their wrongs, half conscious of the rightful remedy, were ripe for insurrection. To effect it, nothing was wanting but an excuse for appearing in arms.

In 1674, the Seneca Indians, a tribe of the Five Nations, had driven the Susquehannahs from their abode at the head of the Chesapeake to the vicinity of the Piscataways on the Potomac; and Maryland had become involved in a war with the Susquehannahs and their confederates. In the next year, murders were committed on the soil of Virginia, and were avenged by the militia on the borders. As the conflict continued, in 1676, the Indians subject to Virginia began to assert independence. The horrors of insecurity visit every log-house on the frontier; the plantations are laid waste;

death ranges the land under the hideous forms of savage cruelty. The spirit that favored popular liberty awakes to demand the natural right of self-defence. The people despise the system of defence by forts. With Bacon for their leader, they demand of the governor leave to rise and protect themselves.

Permission was withheld; for the governor distrusted Nathaniel Bacon, because he was "popularly inclined." A native of England, born during the contests between the parliament and the king, well educated in a period when every active mind had been awakened to a consciousness of popular rights and popular power,—he had not yielded the love of freedom to the enthusiasm of royalty. Possessing a pleasant address, and a powerful elocution, he had rapidly risen to distinction in Virginia. Quick of apprehension, brave, choleric, yet discreet in action, the young and wealthy planter carried to the banks of the James River the liberal ideas which the instinct of human freedom had already whispered to every emigrant, and which naturally sprung up amidst the equalities of the wilderness. Bacon was resolved on action. Were another white man murdered, he would take up arms against the Indians, even with no commission but his sword; and news was soon brought that his own men had been slain on his plantation, near the scene where the city of Richmond now stands. Men flocked together tumultuously, running in troops from one plantation to another without a head. The government had ceased to be revered. The council was divided. Five hundred men were soon under arms; the common voice proclaimed Bacon the leader of the enterprise, and his commanding abilities gave ascendancy to the principles which he advocated, and the party which he espoused.

Hardly had Bacon begun to march against the Indians, when Berkeley, yielding to the instigations of an aristocratic faction, proclaimed him and his followers rebels, and levied troops to pursue them. "Those of estates obeyed" the summons to disperse. Bacon

with a small but faithful band, continued his expedition, while a new insurrection compelled Berkeley to return to Jamestown. The lower counties had risen in arms, and, directing their hatred against the old assembly, to which they ascribed their griefs, demanded its "immediate dissolution."

With the whole mass of the people against him, the haughty Cavalier was compelled to yield. The assembly, which had become odious by its long duration, the selfishness of its members, and its diminution of popular freedom, was dissolved; writs for a new election were issued; and Bacon, returning in triumph from his Indian warfare, was unanimously elected a burgess from Henrico county.

In the choice of this assembly, the late disfranchisement of freemen was little regarded. A majority of the members returned, with Thomas Godwin, their speaker, were "much infected" with the principles of Bacon. At their coming together, high debates arose on the wrongs of the indigent, who were oppressed by taxes alike unequal and exorbitant. The monopoly of the Indian trade was suspended. A compromise with the insurgents was effected: on the one hand, Bacon acknowledged his error in acting without a commission, and the assemblies of disaffected persons were censured as acts of mutiny and rebellion; on the other hand, Bacon was appointed commander-in-chief, to the universal satisfaction of the people, who made the town ring with their joyous acclamations, and hailed "the darling of their hopes" as the appointed defender of Virginia. The Church aristocracy was broken up by limiting the term of office of the vestrymen to three years, and giving the election of them to the freemen of each parish. The elective franchise was restored to the freemen whom the previous assembly had disfranchised; and, as "false returns of sheriffs had endangered the peace," the purity of elections was guarded by wholesome penalties. The arbitrary annual assessments, hitherto made by county magis-

trates, irresponsible to the people, were prohibited; the Virginians insisted on the exclusive right of taxing themselves, and made provision for the county levy, by the equal vote of their own representatives. The fees of the governor, in cases of probate and administration, were curtailed; the unequal immunities of councillors were abrogated; the sale of wines and ardent spirits was prohibited, if not at Jamestown, yet otherwise through the whole country; two of the magistrates, notorious for raising county taxes for their private gains, were disfranchised; and finally, that there might be no room for future reproach or discord, all past derelictions were covered under the mantle of a general amnesty. The acts of this assembly manifest the principles of Bacon; and were they not principles of justice, freedom, and humanity?

The measures of the assembly were not willingly conceded by Berkeley, who refused to sign the commission that had been promised. Fearing treachery, Bacon secretly withdrew, to recount his wrongs to the people; and in a few days he reappeared in the city at the head of nearly five hundred armed men. Anger sustained for a season the courage of the old Cavalier. Advancing to meet the troops, and baring his breast, he cried, "A fair mark! shoot!" — "I will not," replied Bacon, "hurt a hair of your head, or of any man's; we are come for the commission to save our lives from the Indians." When passion subsided, Berkeley yielded. The commission was issued, and the ameliorating legislation of the assembly was ratified. That better legislation was completed, according to the new style of computation, on the fourth day of July, 1676, just one hundred years, to a day, before the congress of the United States, adopting the Declaration which had been framed by a statesman of Virginia, who, like Bacon, was "popularly inclined," began a new era in the history of man. The eighteenth century in Virginia was the child of the seventeenth; and Bacon's rebellion, with the corresponding scenes in Maryland, and Carolina,



and New England, was the early harbinger of American independence and American nationality.

A momentary joy pervaded the colony. Encouraged by the active energy of Bacon, men scoured the forests and the swamps, wherever an Indian ambush could lie concealed. Security dawned; industry began to resume its wonted toils; when, just as the little army was preparing to march against the enemy, the governor violated the amnesty. Repairing to Gloucester county, the most populous and most loyal in Virginia, he summoned a convention of the inhabitants. "The whole convention" disrelished his proposals, esteeming Bacon the defender of their countrymen. But the petulant pride of the Cavalier could not be appeased; Bacon was once more proclaimed a traitor.

The news was conveyed to the camp by Drummond, the former governor of North Carolina, and by Richard Lawrence, a pupil of Oxford, distinguished for learning and sobriety, a man of deep reflection and of energy of purpose. "Shall persons wholly devoted to their king and country," said Bacon, "shall men hazarding their lives against the public enemy, deserve the appellation of rebels and traitors? The whole country is witness to our peaceable behavior. I appeal to the king and parliament, where the cause of the people will be heard impartially."

Meanwhile, addressing himself to the people of Virginia, he invited all, by their love of country, their love to their wives and children, to gather in a convention, and rescue the colony from the tyranny of Berkeley. The call was answered; none were willing to sit idle in the time of general calamity. On the third of August, the most eminent men in the colony came together at Middle Plantations, now Williamsburg; Bacon excelled them all in arguments; the public mind seemed to be swayed by his judgment, and an oath was taken by the whole convention, to join him against the Indians, and, if possible, to prevent a civil war. Should the governor persevere in his obstinate self-will, they



promised to protect Bacon against every armed force; and, after long and earnest arguments, held before the people in the open air from noon till midnight, it was resolved that, even if troops should arrive from England, Virginia would resist till an appeal could reach the king in person.

Fortified by the vote of the people, Bacon proceeded against the Indians, while Berkeley withdrew beyond the Chesapeake, and, by promises of booty, endeavored to collect an army on the eastern shore, and among the seamen in the harbor.

The condition of Bacon and his followers became critical. Drummond, who was versed in the early history of Virginia, advised that Berkeley should be deposed, and Sir Henry Chichely substituted as governor. The counsel was disliked. "Do not make so strange of it," said Drummond, "for I can show, from ancient records, that such things have been done in Virginia." After much discussion, it was agreed, that the retreat of the governor should be taken for an abdication; and Bacon, who had been a member of the council, with four of his colleagues, issued writs for a representative convention of the people, by which the affairs of the colony should be managed. Virginia was revolutionized by the act of its own inhabitants, and government was instituted on the basis of popular power. "The child that is unborn" — such was the language of hope — "shall have cause to rejoice for the good that will come by the rising of the country." The relief from the hated navigation acts seemed certain. Now "we can build ships," it was urged, "and, like New England, trade to any part of the world." The wives of Virginia statesmen would not suffer a throb of fear in their bosoms; in the greatest perils still confidently exclaiming, "We shall do well enough!" and inspiring the insurgents with their own enthusiasm.

After the lapse of a century, the same passions and the same legislation returned. But the effort of Bacon wins new interest from its failure. The flag of

freedom was unfurled only to be stained with blood ; the accents of liberty were uttered only to be choked by executions.

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## CHAPTER XXVI.

### VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND TILL THE REVOLUTION OF 1688.

MEANTIME Sir William Berkeley collected in Accomack a large crowd of followers ; promising freedom to the servants of the insurgents, if they would rally under his banner. With a fleet of five ships and ten sloops, attended by royalists, a rabble of covetous hirelings, and a horde of Indians, the Cavalier sailed for Jamestown, where, on the eighth of September, he landed without opposition. Entering the town, he fell on his knees, returning thanks to God for his safe arrival ; and again proclaimed Bacon and his party traitors and rebels.

The cry resounded through the forests for “ the countrymen ” to come down. “ Speed,” it was said, “ or we shall all be made slaves — man, woman, and child.” “ Your sword,” said Drummond to Lawrence, “ is your commission, and mine too ; the sword must end it ;” and both prepared for resistance.

Returning from a successful expedition, and disbanding his troops, Bacon had retained but a small body of men for his personal defence, when the tidings of the fleet from Accomack surprised him in his retirement. His eloquence inspired his few followers with courage. “ With marvellous celerity ” they hasten towards their enemy. On the way they secure as hostages the wives of royalists who were with Berkeley, and they soon appear under arms before Jamestown.

Victory did not hesitate. The followers of Berkeley were too cowardly to succeed in a sally; and to secure plunder they made grounds to desert. No considerable service was done, except by the seamen. What availed the passionate courage of a brave and irascible old man? The royalists deserted the town, and escaped in their fleet by night.

On the morning after the retreat, Bacon entered the little capital of Virginia. There lay the ashes of Gosnold; there the gallant Smith had told the tale of his adventures of romance; there English wives had been offered for sale to eager colonists; there Pocahontas had sported in the simplicity of innocence. For nearly seventy years, it had been the abode of Anglo-Saxons. But could Bacon retain possession of the town? And should he abandon it as a strong-hold for the enemies of his country? The rumor prevailed that a party of royalists from the northern counties was drawing near. In a council of war, it was resolved to burn Jamestown, the only town in Virginia, that no shelter might remain for an enemy. Should troops arrive from England, every man was ordered to retire into the wilderness. Tyrants would hardly chase the planters into their scattered homes among the woods. And, as the shades of night descended, the village was set on fire. Two of the best houses belonged to Lawrence and Drummond; each of them, with his own hand, kindled the flames that were to lay his dwelling in ashes. The little church, the oldest in the Dominion, the newly-erected state-house, were consumed. In the darkness of night, the conflagration blazed high in the air, and was seen by the fleet that lay at anchor twenty miles below the town. The ruins of the tower of the church, and the memorials in the adjacent graveyard, are all that now mark for the stranger the peninsula of Jamestown.

From the smoking ruins, Bacon hastened to meet the royalists from the Rappahannock. No engagement ensued; the troops in a body joined the patriot party; and Brent, their royalist leader, was left at the mercy of the

insurgents. Even the inhabitants of Gloucester gave pledges of adhesion. Nothing remained but to cross the bay and revolutionize the Eastern Shore.

The little army of insurgents had been exposed, by night, to the damp dews of the lowlands; of a sudden Bacon himself sickened, and, after a short and vain struggle with the uncertain disease, on the first day of October he died. Seldom has a political leader been more honored by his friends. "Who is there now," said they, "to plead our cause? His eloquence could animate the coldest hearts; his pen and sword alike compelled the admiration of his foes, and it was but their own guilt that styled him a criminal. His name must bleed for a season; but when time shall bring to Virginia truth crowned with freedom, and safe against danger, posterity shall sound his praises."

The death of Bacon left his party without a head. A series of petty insurrections followed; but in Robert Beverley the royalists found an agent superior to any of the remaining insurgents. The ships in the river were at his disposal, and a continued warfare in detail restored the supremacy of the governor.

Thomas Hansford, a native Virginian, was the first partisan leader whom Beverley surprised. He disdained to shrink from the malice of destiny, and Berkeley condemned him to be hanged. Neither at his trial nor afterwards did he show any diminution of fortitude. He demanded no favor, but that "he might be shot like a soldier, and not hanged like a dog." "You die," it was answered, "not as a soldier, but as a rebel." Reviewing his life, he expressed penitence for every sin. What was charged on him as rebellion he denied to have been a crime. "Take notice," said he, as he came to the gallows, "I die a loyal subject, and a lover of my country." That country was Virginia. Hansford perished, the first native of America, on the gallows, a martyr to the right of the people to govern themselves.

Taking advantage of their naval superiority, a party of royalists entered York River, and surprised the troops

that were led by Edmund Cheesman and Thomas Wilford. The latter lost an eye in the skirmish. "Were I stark blind," said he, "the governor would afford me a guide to the gallows."

As the power of Berkeley increased, the ruthlessness of offended pride sought indulgence. Avarice also found delight in fines and confiscations; no sentiment of clemency was tolerated. From fear that a jury would bring in verdicts of acquittal, men were hurried to death from courts martial. On meeting William Drummond as a prisoner, in January, 1677, Berkeley could not repress his exultation. The patriot, avowing boldly the part he had acted, was condemned at one o'clock, and hanged at four. His children and wife were driven from their home, to depend on the charity of the planters. At length it was deemed safe to resort to the civil tribunal, where the judges proceeded with the virulence of accusers. Of those who put themselves on trial, none escaped being convicted and hanged. A panic paralyzed the juries, there was in most men so much guilt or fear. What though commissioners arrived with a royal proclamation, promising pardon to all but Bacon? In defiance of remonstrances, executions continued till twenty-two had been hanged. Three others had died of cruelty in prison; three more had fled before trial; two had escaped after conviction. More blood was shed than, on the action of our present system, would be shed for political offences in a thousand years. Nor is it certain when the carnage would have ended, had not the assembly convened in February, 1677, voted an address "that the governor would spill no more blood."

It was on occasion of this rebellion, that English troops were first introduced into the English colonies in America. Their support was burdensome. After three years they were disbanded, and probably mingled with the people.

With the returning squadron Sir William Berkeley sailed for England, to meet the censure of public opinion. and to die unlamented.



The results of Bacon's rebellion were disastrous for Virginia. The suppression of an insurrection furnished an excuse for refusing a liberal charter. Assemblies were required to be called but once in two years, and to sit but fourteen days, unless for special reasons. "You shall take care," said the king, "that the members of assembly be elected only by freeholders." In conformity with these instructions, all the acts of Bacon's assembly, except, perhaps, one, which permitted the enslaving of Indians, and which was confirmed and renewed, were absolutely repealed, and the former grievances immediately returned.

While the Old Dominion was thus desolated by carnage and civil war, the progress of Maryland, under the more generous proprietary government, was tranquil and rapid.

At the restoration, the authority of Philip Calvert, whom the proprietary had commissioned as his deputy, was promptly and quietly recognized; and, in 1661, a wise clemency veiled the incipient strife between the people and their sovereign under a general amnesty. Peace was restored, but Maryland was not placed beyond the influence of the ideas which that age of revolution had set in motion; and the earliest opportunity would renew the strife.

Yet the happiness of the colony was enviable. The persecuted and the unhappy thronged to the domains of the benevolent prince from every clime; and the colonial legislature extended its sympathies to many nations, as well as to many sects. From France came Huguenots; from Germany, from Holland, from Sweden, from Finland, perhaps from Piedmont, the children of misfortune sought protection under the tolerant sceptre of the Roman Catholic. Bohemia itself, the country of Jerome and of Huss, sent forth its sons, who at once were made citizens of Maryland with equal franchises. The empire of justice and humanity, according to the light of those days, had been complete, but that, for a few years, the refusal of the Quakers to perform military duty,



and to take an oath, subjected them to fines, imprisonment, and a forfeiture of property.

Meantime the virtues of benevolence and gratitude ripened together. Charles, the eldest son of the proprietary, came to reside in the province which was to be his patrimony. He visited the banks of the Delaware, and struggled to extend the limits of his jurisdiction. As in Massachusetts, money was coined at a provincial mint, and, at a later day, the value of foreign coins was arbitrarily advanced. A duty was levied on the tonnage of every vessel that entered the waters. The Indian nations were pacified, and their rights, subordination, and commerce, defined and established. By repeated "acts of gratitude," the power of the proprietary to raise taxes was accurately limited, and the mode of paying quit-rents established on terms favorable to the colony; while, on the other hand, a custom of two shillings a hogshead was levied on all exported tobacco, for the support of the government, and the revenue of the proprietary.

Thus was the declining life of Cecilius Lord Baltimore, the father of Maryland, the tolerant legislator, the benevolent prince, blessed with the success which philanthropy deserves. The colony which he had planted in youth, crowned his old age with its gratitude. Who among his peers could vie with him in honors? A firm supporter of prerogative, a friend to the Stuarts, he was touched with the sentiment of humanity; an earnest disciple of the Roman church, of which he venerated the expositions of truth as infallible, he, first among legislators, established an equality among sects. Free from religious bigotry, a lover of concord and of tranquillity, he could not rise above the political prejudices of his party. He knew not the worth or the fruits of popular power; he had not perceived the character of the institutions which were forming in the New World, and his benevolent designs were the results of his own moderation, the fruit of his personal character, without regard to the spirit of his age. The commercial metropolis of Maryland commemorates his name; the memory of his

wise philanthropy survives in American history. He died in November, 1675, after a supremacy of more than forty-three years, leaving a reputation for temperate wisdom, which the dissensions in his colony and the various revolutions of England could not tarnish.

The death of Cecilius recalled to England the heir of the province, who had administered its government for fourteen years with a moderation which had been rewarded by the increasing prosperity of his patrimony. As he sailed for England, the seeds of discontent were already germinating. The office of proprietary, a feudal principality, with extensive manors in every county, was an anomaly; the sole hereditary legislator in the province, his power was not in harmony with the political predilections of the colonists, or the habits of the New World. The insurrection of Bacon found friends north of the Potomac, and a rising was checked only by the prompt energy of the government. But the tendency toward more popular forms of administration could not be repressed. The assembly which was convened in 1678, during the absence of the proprietary, shared in this spirit; and the right of suffrage was established on a corresponding basis. The party of "Baconists" had obtained great influence on the public mind. Differences between the proprietary and the people became apparent. On his return to the province, in 1681, he himself, by proclamation, annulled the rule which the representatives of Maryland had established respecting the elective franchise, and, by an arbitrary ordinance, limited the right of suffrage to freemen possessing a freehold of fifty acres, or having a visible personal estate of forty pounds. These restrictions were introduced in the midst of scenes of civil commotion. Fendall, the old republican, was again planning schemes of insurrection, and even of independence. The state was not only troubled with poverty, but was in danger of falling to pieces; for it was said, "The maxims of the old Lord Baltimore will not do in the present age."

The discontents were increased by hostility toward

the creed of Papists, and Protestantism became a political sect. The Anglican Church clamored for favor where it had enjoyed equality. The English prelates demanded an establishment to be maintained at the common expense of the province. Lord Baltimore resisted; the Roman Catholic was inflexible in his regard for freedom of worship.

The opposition to Lord Baltimore as a feudal sovereign easily united with Protestant bigotry; and when the insurrection of 1681 was suppressed by methods of clemency and forbearance, the government was vehemently accused of favor towards Papists. The opportunity was too favorable to be neglected; and the English ministry issued an order, that offices of government in Maryland should be intrusted exclusively to Protestants. Roman Catholics were disfranchised in the province which they had planted.

With the colonists Lord Baltimore was at issue for his hereditary authority, with the English Church for his religious faith; attempts to modify the unhappy effects of the navigation acts on colonial industry, involved him in opposition to the commercial policy of England. His rights of jurisdiction had been disregarded; the custom-house officer of Maryland had been placed under the superintendence of the governor of Virginia; and the unwelcome relations, resisted by the officers of Lord Baltimore, had led to quarrels and bloodshed, which were followed by a controversy with Virginia. The accession of James II. seemed an auspicious event for a Roman Catholic proprietary; but the king, who meditated the subversion of British freedom, resolved, with impartial injustice, to reduce all the colonies to a direct dependence on the crown. The proprietary, hastening to England, vainly pleaded his irreproachable administration. Remonstrance was disregarded, and chartered rights despised; and, in 1687, a writ of *quo warranto* was ordered against the patent of Lord Baltimore. But before the legal forms could be brought to an issue, the people of England had sat in judgment on their king.

The approach of the revolution effected no immediate benefit to Lord Baltimore. William Joseph, the president to whom he had intrusted the administration, addressed the assembly of 1688, with an argument to prove the divine right of the proprietary, and endeavored to confirm it by exacting a special oath of fidelity. The assembly resisted the attempt, and was prorogued. Is it strange that excitements increased? that they were heightened by tidings of the invasion of England? that they were kindled into a flame by a delay in proclaiming the new sovereign? An organized insurrection was conducted by John Coode, of old an associate of Fendall; and, in August, 1689, "the association in arms for the defence of the Protestant religion," usurped the government.

In 1675, about two years after Virginia had been granted to Arlington and Culpepper, the latter obtained an appointment as governor of Virginia for life, and was proclaimed soon after Berkeley's departure. The Ancient Dominion was changed into a proprietary government, and the administration surrendered, as it were, to one of the proprietaries, who, at the same time, was sole possessor of the immense domain between the Rappahannock and the Potomac. Early in 1680, he arrived in his province.

Having taken the oath of office at Jamestown, he organized the council, of members friendly to prerogative; and in June, taking advantage of his power to grant an amnesty to the followers of Bacon, he extorted from the legislature of Virginia a perpetual grant of an export duty of two shillings a hogshead on tobacco, to constitute a royal revenue for the support of government, and to be accounted for, not to the assembly, but to the king. Thus the power of Virginia over colonial taxation, the only check on the administration, was voted away without condition.

For his own interests Lord Culpepper was equally careful. The salary of governor of Virginia had been a thousand pounds: for him it was doubled, because he

was a peer. A further grant was made for house-rent. Perquisites of every kind were sought for and increased. Nay, the peer was hardly an honest man. He defrauded the soldiers of a part of their wages by an arbitrary change in the value of current coin. Having made himself familiar with Virginia, and employed the summer profitably, in the month of August he sailed for England from Boston.

Yet Culpepper was not singularly avaricious. His conduct was in harmony with the principles which prevailed in England. As the British merchant claimed the monopoly of colonial commerce, as the British manufacturer valued Virginia only as a market for his goods, so the British courtiers looked to appointments in America as a means of enlarging their own revenues, or providing for their dependents.

On the second visit of Culpepper to Virginia, the little remaining control of the assembly over the executive was wrested from it. The council constituted the general court of Virginia; according to usage, appeals lay from it to the general assembly. The burgesses, in their high court of appeal, claimed to sit alone, excluding the council from whose decision the appeal was made; and Culpepper, having referred the question to the king for decision, announced, in May, 1683, that no appeals whatever should be permitted to the assembly, nor to the king in council, under the value of one hundred pounds sterling.

The holders of land within the grant of Culpepper now lay at his mercy, and were compelled eventually to negotiate a compromise.

All accounts agree in describing the condition of Virginia, at this time, as one of extreme distress. Even the council reported the griefs and restlessness of the country; and they renew the request, that the grant to Culpepper and Arlington may be recalled. The poverty of the province rendered negotiation more easy; the design agreed well with the new colonial policy of Charles II. Arlington surrendered his rights to Cul-



pepper, and, in 1684, the crown was able to announce that Virginia was again a royal province.

Nor did Culpepper retain his office as governor. His patent was for life; but, like so many other charters, in 1683, it was rendered void by a process of law, not so much from regard for Virginia liberties, as to recover a prerogative for the crown.

Lord Howard of Effingham was Culpepper's successor. Like so many before and after him, he solicited office in America to get money, and resorted to the usual expedient of exorbitant fees.

The accession of James II., in 1685, made but few changes in the political condition of Virginia. The suppression of Monmouth's rebellion gave to the colony useful citizens; for many of the prisoners were sent to the plantations, where they were sold as indented servants. The courtiers round James II. exulted in the rich harvest which the rebellion promised, and begged of the monarch frequent gifts of their condemned countrymen. The convicts were in part persons of family and education, accustomed to elegance and ease. "Take all care," wrote the monarch (under the countersign of Sunderland) to the government in Virginia—"take all care that they continue to serve for ten years at least, and that they be not permitted in any manner to redeem themselves by money or otherwise, until that term be fully expired. Prepare a bill for the assembly of our colony, with such clauses as shall be requisite for this purpose." No Virginia legislature seconded such malice; and in December, 1689, the exiles were pardoned. Tyranny and injustice peopled America with men nurtured in suffering and adversity. The history of our colonization is the history of the crimes of Europe.

Meantime Virginia ceased for a season to be the favorite resort of voluntary emigrants. Men were attracted to the New World by the spirit of enterprise and the love of freedom. In Virginia, industry was depressed and the royal authority severe. The pres-



ence of a frigate had sharpened the zeal of the royal officers in enforcing the acts of navigation. The express instruction was continued to allow no printing-press on any pretence whatever.

To perfect the system, Effingham established a chancery court, in which he himself was chancellor. The councillors might advise, but were without a vote. An arbitrary table of fees followed of course. This is the period when royal authority was at its height in Virginia. The executive, the council, the judges, the sheriffs, the county commissioners, and local magistrates, were all appointed, directly or indirectly, by the crown. Virginia had no town meetings, no village democracies, no free municipal institutions. The custom of colonial assemblies remained, but the assembly was chosen under a restricted franchise; its most confidential officer was, in 1686, ordered to be appointed by the governor, and its power over the revenue was lost by the perpetual levy, which it could not recall. Yet the indomitable spirit of personal independence, nourished by the manners of Virginia, could never be repressed. Unlike ancient Rome, Virginia placed the defence of liberty, not in municipal corporations, but in persons. The liberty of the individual was ever highly prized; and freedom sheltered itself in the collected energy of the public mind. Such was the character of the new assembly which was convened in April, 1688, some months before the British revolution. The turbulent spirit of the burgesses was greater than ever, and an immediate dissolution of the body seemed to the council the only mode of counteracting their influence. But the awakened spirit of free discussion, banished from the hall of legislation, fled for refuge among the log-houses and plantations that were sprinkled along the streams. The people ran to arms; general discontent threatened an insurrection. The governor, in a new country, without soldiers and without a citadel, was compelled to practise moderation. Tyranny was impossible; it had no powerful instruments; when the

prerogative of the governor was at its height, he was still too feeble to oppress the colony. Virginia was always "A LAND OF LIBERTY."

Nor let the first tendencies to union pass unnoticed. In the Bay of the Chesapeake, Smith had encountered warriors of the Five Nations; and others had fearlessly roamed to the shores of Massachusetts Bay, and even invaded the soil of Maine. Maryland and Virginia had repeatedly negotiated with the Senecas. In July, 1684, the governor of Virginia and of New York, and the agent of Massachusetts, met the sachems of the Five Nations at Albany, to strengthen and burnish the covenant-chain, and plant the tree of peace, of which the top should reach the sun, and the branches shelter the wide land. The treaty extended from the St. Croix to Albemarle. New York was the bond of New England and Virginia. The north and the south were united by the conquest of NEW NETHERLANDS.

END OF VOL. I.













